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CARDINAL WOLSEY.

ENGRAVED BY E. SCRIVEN.

AFTER THE ORIGINAL PICTURE.

London, Published Jan.y 1, 1825, by Harding, Tripheok & Lepard.

THE

LIFE OF CARDINAL WOLSEY.

BY

GEORGE CAVENDISH,

HIS GENTLEMAN USHER.

AND

METRICAL VISIONS,

FROM THE ORIGINAL AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPT.

36768

WITH

NOTES AND OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS,

BY

SAMUEL WELLER SINGER.

VOL. I.

V v. h. 13

CHISWICK:

FROM THE PRESS OF C. WHITTINGHAM;

FOR HARDING, TRIPHOOK, AND LEPARD, LONDON.

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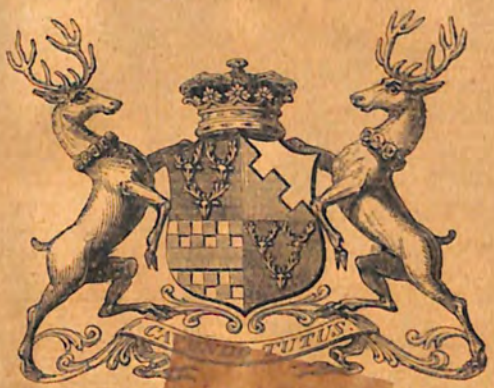

TO HIS GRACE

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE,

THIS REVIVAL OF A MOST INTERESTING

SPECIMEN OF CONTEMPORARY BIOGRAPHY,

BY HIS COLLATERAL ANCESTOR

GEORGE CAVENDISH,

IS WITH PERMISSION DEDICATED

BY HIS GRACE'S OBLIGED AND

OBEDIENT HUMBLE SERVANT,

S. W. SINGER.

PREFACE.

PERHAPS few periods of English history are more remarkable than that which comprised the fortunes of Wolsey; a period which had to boast the most illustrious potentates who have ever filled the thrones of Europe. The age of Henry was also that of Leo, of Charles, and of Francis:—a period big with political events of singular interest:—the captivity of the French monarch and of the Roman Pontiff,—the sacking of Rome,—the divorce of Queen Katherine,—and the train of circumstances which led the way to the reformation,—Events in which Wolsey's hand may be often traced, and in some of which he was a principal actor. The record of his eventful life, and its vicissitudes—his humble origin—his towering fortunes, and his sudden fall,—could not well fail of interesting even in ordinary hands:—But he has

been extremely fortunate in his biographer. The narrative contained in the following pages, of course, only affords a glance at these events, it is not the work of a professed historiographer, but the production of a simple-hearted and honest eyewitness of what he relates. George Cavendish was the faithful attendant of this princely prelate in his triumphant as well as in his declining fortunes:—One who failed him not in his adversity, but shed over his fallen master the tears of affection, performed for him the last sad offices of humanity, and then in his retirement sat down with honest indignation to vindicate him from slander, and to transmit to future ages a faithful picture of his life, with a sacred regard to truth.

It is this circumstance which renders his work so much more interesting than any thing of a similar kind with which I am acquainted. We are here occasionally introduced to the secret recesses of the private life of one of the most distinguished statesmen the world ever saw; of one who not only divided the sway of empire with his monarch, but who governed or influenced

the conduct alternately of France and Spain, whose power for a time was almost unlimited, and whose magnificence has never been exceeded.

There is a sincere and impartial adherence to truth, a reality in Cavendish's narrative, which bespeaks the confidence of his reader, and very much increases his pleasure. It is a work without pretension, but full of natural eloquence, devoid of the formality of a set rhetorical composition, unspoiled by the affectation of that *classical manner* in which all biography and history of old time was prescribed to be written, and which often divests such records of the attraction to be found in the conversational style of Cavendish. There is an unspeakable charm in the naïveté of his language—his occasional appeals to his reader —and the dramatic form of his narration, in which he gives the very words of the interlocutors, and a lively picture of their actions, making us as it were spectators of the scenes he describes. Indeed our great poet has literally followed him in several passages of his King Henry VIII. merely putting his language into verse. Add to this the his-

torical importance of the work, as the only sure and authentic source of information upon many of the most interesting events of that reign; from which all historians have largely drawn, (through the secondary medium of Holinshed and Stowe, who adopted Cavendish's narrative,) and its intrinsic value need not be more fully expressed.

Upon the death of the Cardinal his master, Cavendish relates that the king gave him the same appointment, of Gentleman Usher, in his service, which he had filled in the household of Wolsey: yet at the close of his work he tells us that he returned to his own home in the country. Whether his retirement was only temporary, or whether he then took his final leave of the court, we have no exact means of ascertaining. In his poems he does not mention having served the king, yet dwells upon his faithful services to the Cardinal; but the information he displays upon the principal subsequent events of the reign of Henry, and that of Edward VI. seems to lead to the conclusion that he was a spectator of them. In retirement he would have hardly been able to obtain the acquaintance

with public affairs which his Visions show that he possessed. The circumstance of his sitting down to write in the reign of Philip and Mary[1], "to eschewe all ociosite," would seem to point to that as the period of his retirement, or otherwise his conscience had long slumbered before it accused him that his "tyme he spent in idelnes."

The fate of this Life of Wolsey has been indeed singularly unfortunate; after remaining in manuscript nearly a century, it was first printed in 1641, for party purposes, but in such a garbled form as to be hardly recognized for the same work, abridgment and interpolation having been used with an unsparing hand. Its author too had been robbed of his literary honours, which were bestowed upon his younger and more fortunate brother Sir William Cavendish, until the year 1814, when his cause was ably advocated in a Dissertation by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F. A. S. author of the History of Hallamshire. I am indebted to the kind intervention of

[1] See the Life of Wolsey, page 40, where he speaks of King Philip *now* our sovereign lord.

my friend J. H. Markland, Esq. for the privilege of reprinting that Dissertation, which the reader will find at the commencement of the second volume, and will, I doubt not, be gratified in the perusal. It affords the best example of clear argumentative solution of a literary paradox from circumstantial evidence, with which I am acquainted, at the same time it is so skillfully interwoven with curious matter bearing upon the question, as not only to divest it of the sterile character with which disquisitions of the same kind from less able hands have been marked, but to render it very interesting. I owe Mr. Hunter my best acknowledgments for the ready manner in which the favour was conferred, and I look to have the thanks of those, who are yet unacquainted with it, for uniting this tract with the work of George Cavendish, from which it should never again be disjoined. For all that relates to the Life of Wolsey and its author, therefore, I shall beg leave to refer to this source of information; and it will only remain for me to give an account of the present edition.

Having purchased two valuable ancient

manuscript copies of the work, one of them from among the duplicates of the late Duke of Norfolk's library[2], I conceived that the text might be very much improved by collation of these and the several manuscripts in private and public libraries. Upon naming the design to my friend Mr. Douce, he mentioned to me a very curious copy in the

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[2] The Norfolk MS. is defective at the beginning, one leaf being lost, which contained a portion of the prologue; there is consequently no title to the work. It has a blank leaf at the place where the *lacunæ* usually occur in the manuscript copies. The hand-writing is of the reign of Elizabeth, and the text corresponds very nearly with that of Dr. Wordsworth: the orthography is not the same. This MS. is in its original binding, and has the name of its ancient possessor, *Henrie Farleigh*, stamped on each cover. The other manuscript copy in my possession is carefully written, but apparently of more recent date; it has the following title in German text hand prefixed:

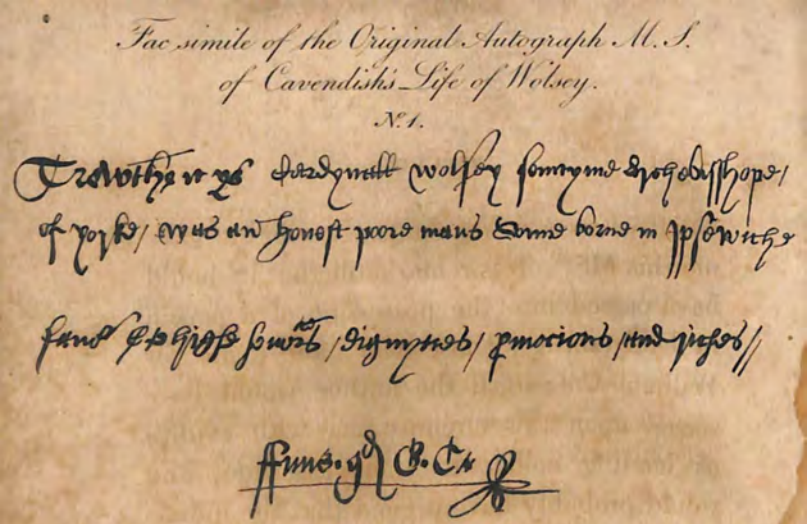
The Life of Master
Thomas Wolsey
Archbishoppe of Yorke
and Cardinall
written by
George Cavendish
his Gentleman Usher.

The same chasm is marked in this MS. as in the former, two pages and a half being left blank, but the imperfect passages at the conclusion of the hunt, and at the commencement of the relation concerning the libels on Wolsey, are completed by a few words as they now stand in Dr. Wordsworth's text. The variations between these copies are chiefly literal, the orthography is in many respects different.

possession of Mr. Lloyd, which contained some verses apparently by the same author, and which from this circumstance might have some claim to be considered the author's original autograph. Upon application to that gentleman, he, with a liberality which calls for my warmest thanks, immediately placed the manuscript in my hands. I at once saw that its pretensions were undoubted, and that it contained not only a more valuable text of the Life, but a series of metrical visions, evidently in the hand writing of the author, with occasional corrections and interlineations, and signed with the initials G. C. in numerous places. On the first blank leaf is written in the same hand with the body of the manuscript, *Vincit qui patitur* q^d^ G. C. *Maxima vindicta paciencia;* and then "Cavendysh de Cavendysh in Com. Suff. gent." and beneath, "I began this booke the 4. day of Novembr." On the reverse of the same leaf is another latin sentence and the motto of Cavendish, *Cavendo tutus.* On a succeeding blank leaf is the name of a former possessor, C. Rossington, under which is written in another hand, "i. e. Clement Rossington of Dronfield,

Fac simile of the Original Autograph M.S.
of Cavendish's Life of Wolsey.

N.º 1.



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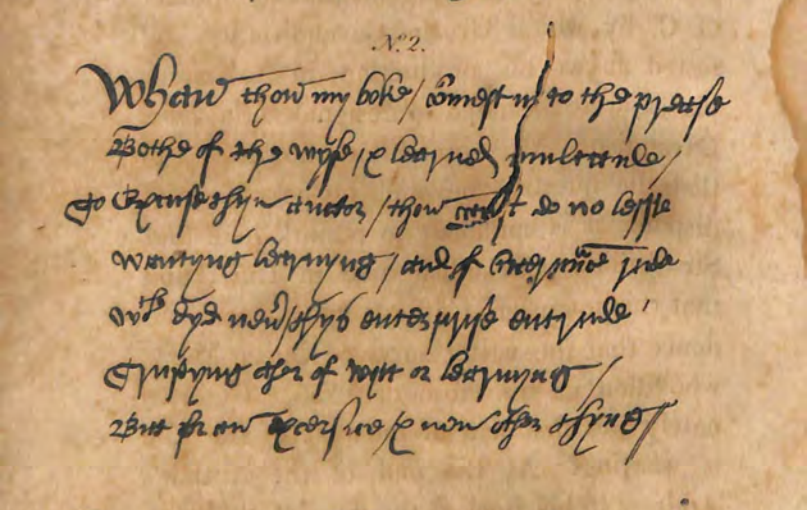

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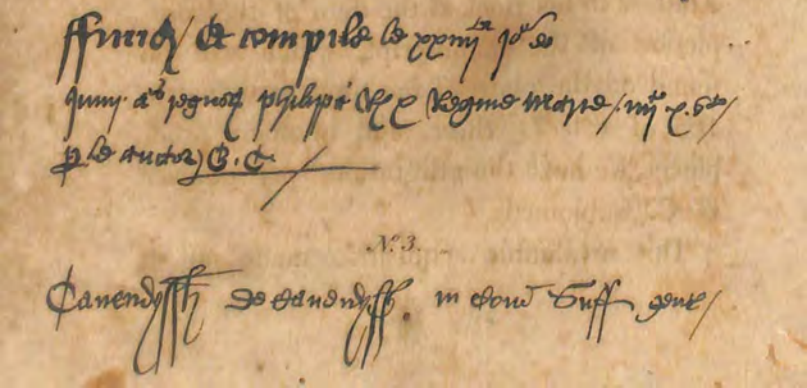

Gent. whose son Mr. James Rossington gave me this MS." It is remarkable that it should have passed into the possession of a person in Derbyshire. Those who have made Sir William Cavendish the author would have seized upon this circumstance with avidity as lending colour to their assertion, and would probably have argued that the initials G. C. by which *George* Cavendish has attested it as his production in so many places, were intended to designate *Gulielmus* Cavendish. Mr. Hunter has, however, settled the question beyond the possibility of dispute; it is sufficient to remark here that Sir William Cavendish died in 1557, and that this manuscript affords unequivocal evidence that the writer survived Queen Mary, who died at the close of 1558. Unfortunately the first leaf of the text of the Life is wanting. At the end of the Author's Address to his Book is the date of the completion of the manuscript, which will be found on the plate of fac-similes, and at p. 165 of vol. 2; there, and in many other places, we have the attestation "*per le auctor* G. C." subjoined.

This invaluable acquisition made me at

once change my plan, and I went earnestly to the work of transcription; feeling convinced that all other manuscripts were, in comparison, of little authority, I determined to follow this, as most entitled to confidence. Upon comparing it with my own manuscript copies and the text of Dr. Wordsworth I found that it supplied the chasm which, for some unknown reason, is found in all the manuscripts that have come under my notice. The suppressed passages contain the description of a boar hunt, and an account of the libels written against Wolsey by the French[3], the imperfection is generally indicated by a blank space being left, which in Mr. Douce's MS. is accompanied by a note saying, "in this vacante place there wanteth copy." It was at first my intention to give various readings, but upon closer comparison I found this would have been impracticable, because the text, as it appears in Dr. Wordsworth's edition and in the common manuscript copies, has been almost entirely

[3] Vide pp. 117, 118, 119, and for another addition pp. 103, 104; in the present edition the passages are included in brackets.

rewritten; changes in the structure of the phrase and verbal discrepancies occur in almost every line. Under such circumstances I was obliged to content myself with indicating the most important variations, I mean such as in any way affected the meaning of the text. I have however availed myself of my own manuscript copies, or of Dr. Wordsworth's edition, to supply an occasional word or phrase which seemed necessary to the sense of a passage, but have always carefully distinguished these additions, by enclosing them in brackets.

It is not easy to account for the extraordinary difference in the language of the original autograph copy and the later manuscripts, by any other means than a supposition that the copyist thought he could improve the style of Cavendish, which is indeed sometimes involved and obscure, but many of the discrepancies have clearly arisen from the difficulty of reading his handwriting, and the substitutions most frequently occur where the original manuscript is the most illegible. It is scarcely probable that Cavendish wrote another copy, for he was already,

as he himself says, old, and probably did not survive the date of the completion of this MS. above a year. There are no additions of the least importance in the more recent copies; the few which occur have been carefully noted.

Of the Poems, to which I have given the general title of METRICAL VISIONS, no other copy is known to exist. They have little or no merit as verses, being deficient in all the essential points of invention, expression and rhythm, and we cannot but regret that Cavendish, who knew so well how to interest us by his artless narration of facts in prose, should have invoked the muse in vain. He seems to have been sensible of his deficiency, and says very truly

"I must write plain, colours I have none to paint."

Yet I have thought these Metrical Visions worth preserving as an interesting addition to his Life of Wolsey, of which they may in some measure be considered a continuation. It has been justly said, that such poems "when of ancient date and nearly contemporary composition, acquire an adscititious value; and

though the lover of poetry may turn from their uncouth measures, and coarse and even ludicrous expressions with disgust, the antiquarian and historian find in them valuable assistants. They sometimes convey the feeling of the times, and, at any rate, that of a single contemporary individual; they supply new facts, or confirm old ones; and when the historian has given them up, the antiquarian hunts them for obsolete customs, and the grammarian for obsolete words."

In these Visions the obsolete orthography has been retained, because very often the rhyme and other circumstances prevented any change. In the Life of Wolsey I have ventured to adopt a different course, but the spelling and pointing is all that I have taken into my own hands; in no instance have I presumed to alter the disposition of the text. I have reason to think that the judicious reader will not be displeased at what is done in this respect, it is no more than what has been effected for Shakspeare and others of our ancient classics. The orthography of Cavendish, as the poems will evince, was exceedingly uncouth and

unsettled, retaining it could have answered no good purpose; those who wish to have recourse to the work for philological purposes would most assuredly prefer the authority of manuscripts; and the disguise of old spelling would have deterred many from reading this interesting narrative, to whom it will now afford pleasure.

In the manuscript copy of these poems no kind of punctuation is attempted, but instead we have the mark of the cæsura in the middle and occasionally at the end of the line, as may be seen in the plate of fac similes; of which the following stanzas may serve as a further sufficient example:

Crepe forthe my boke | under the proteccion
Of suche as have | bothe learnyng and eloquence
Humbly submyttyng the | to the correccion
Of worthy writers | of virtuous excellence |
Besechyng all them | of ther benygn pacience |
To take the meanyng | however the matter frame |
Of this thyn auctor | abasshed of his name |

Then faded the flower | that wyllome was freshe
For Boreas blasts | dyd wether away
The spyritt of lyfe | from the tender flesh
Of that impe royal | that pryme rose gay
Equal in odor | to Flora in May
The virtue vanished | with vitall vigour
From our fayer Mary | our quene of honour |

I have omitted these marks, and substituted modern pointing, in order that the reader may elicit the sense with more facility from productions which are sufficiently obscured already by their obsolete style and orthography. Skelton appears to have been Cavendish's model in poetry; and his verses are evidently, like those of his prototype, intended to depend more upon their rhythmical cadence than upon the number of their feet.

The remaining portion of the second volume comprises a very curious Memoir of Queen Anne Boleyn by George Wyatt, grandson of Sir Thomas Wyatt, the poet, containing some particulars relating to that unfortunate lady not elsewhere noted. It must be considered a valuable supplement to the notice of her contained in the Life of Wolsey. I have also given a Parallel between Wolsey and Laud, written at the time when Cavendish's work first issued from the press: though its purpose was to excite prejudice against Laud, it is not deficient in interest, and is conducted with tolerable temper. The original being of

extreme rarity, and of sufficient brevity, I have thought that it would be an agreeable addition to this work. The few letters and papers which are added were necessary illustrations of passages in the text and notes, and though some of them are to be found in books readily accessible, I have not placed them in connection with the work to which they relate without sufficient reasons, which the reader will find stated in the preliminary notices; it is therefore unnecessary to repeat them in this place. A few notes on the Life of Wolsey which have been adopted from Dr. Wordsworth's edition are distinguished by the letter W.

It is not generally known that a very curious edition of this Life was printed by the zealous biographer of Wolsey, Mr. Grove of Richmond, as long since as the year 1761. He had first adopted the old spurious copy, which he printed in the form of notes to his own work in 1742-4; but afterwards meeting with a manuscript, he was so indignant upon finding by comparison the forgeries and scandalous interpolations of the old editions,

that he printed off a small impression with a preface and notes; but it is one of the rarest of English books. For the loan of this curious volume[4] I am indebted to the kindness of Richard Heber, Esq. M. P. for the University of Oxford, whose liberality, in imparting the inexhaustible treasures of the richest and most comprehensive library over

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[4] Bound up in the same volume with the Life of Wolsey, in Mr. Heber's copy, are the following tracts bearing upon the subject; of which a very limited impression appears to have been made, as they are all equally rare.

Two Dialogues in the Elysian Fields between Cardinal Wolsey and Cardinal Ximenes, by Mr. Grove of Richmond. London, Printed for the Author by D. Leach, 1761.

A Short Historical Account of Sir William Cavendish, Gentleman Usher to Cardinal Wolsey, and of his Lady Elizabeth (afterwards Countess of Shrewsbury) and their descendants. This has no title page. The Observations and Appendix to the Life of Wolsey appear to have been annexed, as the paging is continued.

Six Appendices to a Short History of King Henry VIII. which he had previously published. These have no general title, and are separately paged.

A Short Examination into Some Reflections cast on the Memory of Cardinal Wolsey, by the Author of the Life of Sir Thomas More, in the Biographia Britannica. 1761.

The Life of Robert Wolsey of Ipswich, Gentleman, Father of the famous Cardinal. 1761.

formed by one individual, it has been my good fortune frequently to experience.

My excellent and highly valued friend Francis Douce, Esq. with his accustomed kindness, threw open to me his curious and valuable library, and placed in my hands a very excellent manuscript[5] of this Life, embellished with spirited drawings in out-

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Grove has divided his edition into sections for the purpose of reference. His text has now nothing to recommend it, though it was then a laudable undertaking: he occasionally shows that he could not very well decipher his MS. he puts *hinnocrisse* for *hippocrass* at p. 71, and at p. 76 *peeres* for *speres*, with many other palpable mistakes. Grove's ingenuity, though not his ingenuousness, may be admired; for finding in his manuscript the work attributed to *George* Cavendish, he converts it to *Gu.* Cavendish, Gent. not to disturb his own historical account of Sir William Cavendish, in which he gives a circumstantial relation of the intimacy between Wolsey and Thomas Cavendish of the Exchequer, the father of Sir William, who, he says, placed him in the service of Wolsey, and of the growth of his fortunes in consequence, with a confidence and detail which is truly amusing.

[5] This manuscript is carefully written in a volume with other curious transcripts, and has marginal notes by the transcriber, who appears to have been a puritan, from his exclamations against pomp and ceremony. At the end he writes, "Copied forth by S. B. anno 1578, the first day of September."

line of some of the principal occurrences, from which three prints have been accurately copied as appropriate embellishments of the book. With these advantages, I have reason to hope that this edition will be found in all respects worthy of the singular merit of the work, and of the auspices under which it goes forth to the world.

Box Hill,
November 15, 1824.

DIRECTIONS FOR PLACING THE PLATES.

VOL. I.

Portrait of Wolsey ..... *facing the Title*
Cardinal Wolsey in progress ..... *to face page* 86
Cromwell. Earl of Essex 193
Dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk receive the great seal from Wolsey 181
Tokens sent to Wolsey by the King and Anne Boleyn.... 221
Fac Simile of the Original Autograph MS..... *preface* xvii

REFERENCE TO THE PLATE.

No. 1. Part of the Text of the commencement of the Life, with the attestation *finis quod G. C.*

No. 2. Last stanza of the Author's Address to his Book, with the subjoined inscription of the date of the completion of the MS. *See Vol.* II. *p.* 172.

VOL. II.

Portrait of Anne Boleyn ..... *to face the Title*
Portrait of King Henry VIII..... *to face page* 91
Portrait of Sir Thomas Wyatt 183

Great princes' favourites their fair leaves spread,
But as the marigold at the sun's eye;
And in themselves their pride lies buried,
For at a frown they in their glory die.

SHAKSPEARE.

The Life of Thomas Wolsey,

sometime Archbishop of Yorke and Cardinal,

intituled Sanctæ Ceciliæ trans Tiberim,
Presbiter Cardinalis, and L. Chancellor of England.

Written by

George Cabendish, sometime his Gentleman Usher.

——— This Cardinal,
Though from an humble stock, undoubtedly
Was fashion'd to much honour from his cradle.
He was a scholar, and a ripe, and good one;
Exceeding wise, fair spoken, and persuading:
Lofty, and sour, to them that lov'd him not,
But, to those men that sought him, sweet as summer.
And though he were unsatisfied in getting,
(Which was a sin), yet in bestowing—
He was most princely: Ever witness for him
Ipswich and Oxford! one of which fell with him,
Unwilling to outlive the good that did it;
The other, though unfinish'd, yet so famous,
So excellent in art, and yet so rising,
That Christendom shall ever speak his virtue.
His overthrow heap'd happiness upon him;
For then, and not till then, he felt himself,
And found the blessedness of being little:
And, to add greater honours to his age
Than man could give him, he died fearing God.

SHAKSPEARE.

THE

LIFE

OF

CARDINAL WOLSEY.

THE PROLOGUE.

Meseems it were no wisdom to credit every light tale, blasted abroad by the blasphemous mouth of the rude commonalty. For we daily hear how, with their blasphemous trump, they spread abroad innumerable lies, without either shame or honesty, which *primâ facie* showeth forth a visage of truth, as though it were a perfect verity and matter indeed, whereas there is nothing more untrue. And amongst the wise sort so it is esteemed, with whom those babblings be of small force and effect.

Forsooth I have read the exclamations of divers worthy and notable authors, made against such false rumours and fond opinions of the fan-

tastical commonalty, who delighteth in nothing more than to hear strange things, and to see new alterations of authorities; rejoicing sometimes in such new fantasies, which afterwards give them more occasion of repentance than of joyfulness. Thus may all men of wisdom and discretion understand the temerous madness of the rude commonalty, and not give to them too hasty credit of every sudden rumour, until the truth be perfectly known by the report of some approved and credible person, that ought to have thereof true intelligence. I have heard and also seen set forth in divers printed books some untrue imaginations, after the death of divers persons which in their life were of great estimation, that were invented rather to bring their honest names into infamy and perpetual slander of the common multitude, than otherwise.

The occasion therefore that maketh me to rehearse all these things is this; for as much as I intend, God willing, to write here some part of the proceedings of [1] Legate and Cardinal Wolsey, Archbishop of York, and of his ascending and descending from honorous estate; whereof some part shall be of mine own knowledge, and some of other person's information.

[1] The autograph MS. begins here.

Forsooth this cardinal was my lord and master, whom in his life I served, and so remained with him, after his fall, continually, during the term of all his trouble, until he died; as well in the south as in the north parts, and noted all his demeanor and usage in all that time; as also in his wealthy triumph and glorious estate. And since his death I have heard diverse sundry surmises and imagined tales, made of his proceedings and doings, which I myself have perfectly known to be most untrue; unto the which I could have sufficiently answered according to truth, but, as me seemeth, then it was much better for me to suffer, and dissemble the matter, and the same to remain still as lies, than to reply against their untruth, of whom I might, for my boldness, sooner have kindled a great flame of displeasure, than to quench one spark of their malicious untruth. Therefore I commit the truth to Him who knoweth all things. For, whatsoever any man hath conceived in him when he lived, or since his death, thus much I dare be bold to say, without displeasure to any person, or of affection, that in my judgment I never saw this realm in better order, quietness, and obedience, than it was in the time of his authority and rule, ne justice better ministered with indifferency; as I could evidently prove, if I should not be accused of too much affection, or

else that I set forth more than truth. I will therefore here desist to speak any more in his commendation, and proceed farther to his original beginning [and] ascending by fortune's favour to high honours, dignities, promotions, and riches.

Finis quod G. C.

Truth it is, Cardinal Wolsey, sometime Archbishop of York, was an honest poor man's son [2], born in Ipswich, within the county of Suffolk; and being but a child, was very apt to learning; by means whereof his parents, or his good friends and masters, conveyed him to the University of Oxford, where he prospered so in learning, that, as he told me [in] his own per-

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[2] He was born in the year 1471. See Fiddes's *Life of Wolsey*, p. 2. 1726. By some it has been said that his father was a *butcher*, but the foundation for this assertion is not known. The zealous biographer of the cardinal, Mr. Grove, made two successive journeys to Ipswich for the purpose of obtaining information respecting him, but the whole fruit of both expeditions was ascertaining the Christian name of Wolsey's father, and that he was a man of some substance! He printed, however, what he calls "The Life of Robert Wolsey, of Ipswich, *Gentleman*," in 1761! The will of Wolsey's father was published by Dr. Fiddes, and for its curiosity I shall give it a place in the Appendix.

son, he was called the boy-bachellor, forasmuch as he was made Bachellor of Arts at fifteen years of age, which was a rare thing, and seldom seen.

Thus prospering and increasing in learning, [he] was made Fellow of Magdalen College, and after appointed, for his learning, to be schoolmaster there; at which time the Lord Marquess Dorset had three of his sons there at school with him, committing as well unto him their virtuous education, as their instruction and learning. It pleased the said marquess against a Christmas season, to send as well for the schoolmaster as for his children, home to his house, for their recreation in that pleasant and honourable feast. They being then there, my lord their father perceived them to be right well employed in learning, for their time: which contented him so well, that he having a benefice [3] in his gift, being at that time void, gave the same to the schoolmaster, in reward for his diligence, at his departing after Christmas upon his return to the University. And having the presentation thereof [he] repaired to the ordinary for his institution and induction; then being fully furnished of all necessary instruments at

[3] The place was Lymington, in the Diocese of Bath and Wells. He was instituted October 10, A. D. 1500. *Fiddes*, p. 5.

the ordinary's hands for his preferment, he made speed without any farther delay to the said benefice to take thereof possession. And being there for that intent, one Sir Amyas Pawlet, knight, dwelling in the country thereabout, took an occasion of displeasure against him, upon what ground I know not[4]: but, sir, by your leave, he was so bold to set the schoolmaster by the feet during his pleasure; the which was afterward neither forgotten nor forgiven. For when the schoolmaster mounted the dignity to be Chancellor of England, he was not oblivious of the old displeasure ministered unto him by master Pawlet, but sent for him, and after many sharp and heinous words, enjoined him to attend upon the council until he were by them dismissed, and not to depart without license, upon an urgent pain and forfeiture: so that he continued within the Middle Temple, the space of five or six years, or more; whose lodging there was in the gate-house next the street, which he reedified very sumptuously, garnishing the same, on the

[4] The tradition is, that Wolsey was set in the stocks by Sir Amyas Pawlet's direction, for disorderly conduct at a fair where he had drunk to excess. The ground for this assertion is not known, but it seems to rest upon no earlier authority than that of Sir John Harrington. It may be remarked that Storer, in his metrical Life of Wolsey, represents him as the injured party:

"Wrong'd by a knight for no desert of mine."

outside thereof, with cardinals' hats and arms, badges and cognisaunces of the cardinal, with divers other devices, in so glorious a sort, that he thought thereby to have appeased his old unkind displeasure.

Now may this be a good example and precedent to men in authority, which will sometimes work their will without wit, to remember in their authority, how authority may decay; and [those] whom they punish of will more than of justice, may after be advanced in the public weal to high dignities and governance, and they based as low, who will then seek the means to be revenged of old wrongs sustained wrongfully before. Who would have thought then, when Sir Amyas Pawlet punished this poor scholar, that ever he should have attained to be Chancellor of England, considering his baseness in every condition. These be wonderful works of God, and fortune. Therefore I would wish all men in authority and dignity to know and fear God in all their triumphs and glory; considering in all their doings, that authorities be not permanent, but may slide and vanish, as princes' pleasures do alter and change.

Then as all living things must of very necessity pay the due debt of nature, which no earthly creature can resist, it chanced my said Lord

Marquess to depart out of this present life [5]. After whose death this schoolmaster, considering then with himself to be but a small beneficed man, and to have lost his fellowship in the College (for, as I understand, if a fellow of that college be once promoted to a benefice he shall by the rules of the house be dismissed of his fellowship), and perceiving himself also to be destitute of his singular good lord, thought not to be long unprovided of some other succour or staff, to defend him from all such harms, as he lately sustained

And in his travail thereabout, he fell in acquaintance with one Sir John Nanphant [6], a very grave and ancient knight, who had a great room [7] in Calais under King Henry the Seventh. This knight he served, and behaved him so discreetly, and justly, that he obtained the especial favour of his said master; insomuch that for his wit, gravity, and just behaviour, he committed all the charge of his office unto his chaplain. And, as I understand, the office was the treasurership of Calais, who was, in consideration of his great age, discharged of his chargeable room, and returned again into England, intending to live

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[5] September, 1501.

[6] Sir John Nafant, a gentleman of Worcestershire.

[7] *Place*, or *office*.

more at quiet. And through his instant labour and especial favour his chaplain was promoted to the king's service, and made his chaplain. And when he had once cast anchor in the port of promotion, how he wrought, I shall somewhat declare.

He, having then a just occasion to be in the present sight of the king daily, by reason he attended, and said mass before his grace in his privy closet, and that done he spent not the day forth in vain idleness, but gave his attendance upon those whom he thought to bear most rule in the council, and to be most in favour with the king, the which at that time were Doctor Fox, Bishop of Winchester, then secretary and lord privy seal, and also Sir Thomas Lovell, knight, a very sage counsellor, and witty; being master of the king's wards, and constable of the Tower[8].

These ancient and grave counsellors in process of time after often resort, perceived this chaplain to have a very fine wit, and what wisdom was in his head, thought [him] a meet and an apt person to be preferred to witty affairs.

[8] Wolsey had not only the address and good qualities necessary to the acquisition of such friends, but also retained them to the last. The affection of Bishop Fox is apparent in the last letter which he wrote to him; and Sir Thomas Lovell's esteem was manifested to the close of his life, for he leaves him in his will "a standing cup of golde, and one hundred marks in golde."

It chanced at a certain season that the king had an urgent occasion to send an ambassador unto the emperor Maximilian [9], who lay at that present in the Low Country of Flanders, not far from Calais. The Bishop of Winchester, and Sir Thomas Lovell, whom the king most highly esteemed, as chief among his counsellors (the king one day counselling and debating with them upon this embassy), saw they had a convenient occasion to prefer the king's chaplain, whose excellent wit, eloquence [1], and learning they highly commended to the king. The king giving ear unto them, and being a prince of an excellent judgment and modesty, commanded [them] to bring his chaplain, whom they so much commended, before his grace's presence. At whose repair [thither] to prove the wit of his chaplain, the king fell in communication with him in matters of weight and gravity: and, perceiving his wit to be very fine, thought him sufficient to be put in authority and trust with this embassy; [and] commanded him thereupon to prepare himself to this enterprise and journey,

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[9] This mission related to the intended treaty of marriage between Henry the Seventh, and the Duchess Dowager of Savoy.

[1] Shakspeare represents the cardinal as "Exceeding wise, fair spoken and persuading;" and one of the charges exhibited against him was, that "at the privy council he would have all the words to himself, and consumed the time with a fair tale!"

and for his depeche [2], to repair to his grace and his trusty counsellors aforesaid, of whom he should receive his commission and instructions. By means whereof he had then a due occasion to repair from time to time into the king's presence, who perceived him more and more to be a very wise man, and of a good entendment [3]. And having his depeche, [he] took his leave of the king at Richmond about noon, and so came to London with speed [about four of the clock [4]], where then the barge of Gravesend was ready to launch forth, both with a prosperous tide and wind. Without any farther abodé he entered the barge, and so passed forth. His happy speed was such that he arrived at Gravesend within little more than three hours; where he tarried no longer than his post horses were provided; and travelling so speedily with post horses, that he came to Dover the next morning early, whereas the passengers [5] were ready under sail displayed, to sail to Calais. Into which passengers without any farther abode he entered, and sailed forth with them, [so] that he arrived at Calais within three hours, and having there post horses in a readiness, departed incon-

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[2] *Dispatch.*

[3] *Understanding.*

[4] Wordsworth's Ed.

[5] i. e. *passage boats.*

tinent, making such hasty speed, that he was that night with the emperor; who, having understanding of the coming of the King of England's ambassador, would in no wise defer the time, but sent incontinent for him (his affection unto King Henry the Seventh was such, that he rejoiced when he had an occasion to show him pleasure). The ambassador having opportunity, disclosed the sum of his embassy unto the emperor, of whom he required speedy expedition, the which was granted; so that the next day he was clearly dispatched, with all the king's requests fully accomplished. At which time he made no farther tarriance, but with post horses rode incontinent that night toward Calais again, conducted thither with such number of horsemen as the emperor had appointed, and [was] at the opening of the gates there, where the passengers were as ready to return into England as they were before in his advancing; insomuch that he arrived at Dover by ten of the clock before noon; and having post horses in a readiness, came to the court at Richmond that night. Where he taking his rest for that time until the morning, repaired to the king at his first coming out of his grace's bedchamber, toward his closet to hear mass. Whom (when he saw) [he] checked him for that he was not past on his

journey. "Sir," quoth he, "if it may stand with your highness' pleasure, I have already been with the emperor, and dispatched your affairs, I trust, to your grace's contentation." And with that delivered unto the king the emperor's letters of credence. The king, being in a great confuse and wonder of his hasty speed with ready furniture of all his proceedings, dissimuled all his imagination and wonder in that matter, and demanded of him, whether he encountered not his pursuivant, the which he sent unto him (supposing him not to be scantly out of London) with letters concerning a very necessary cause, neglected in his commission and instructions, the which the king coveted much to be sped. "Yes, forsooth, Sire," quoth he, "I encountered him yesterday by the way: and, having no understanding by your grace's letters of your pleasure therein, have, notwithstanding, been so bold, upon mine own discretion (perceiving that matter to be very necessary in that behalf) to dispatch the same. And for as much as I have exceeded your grace's commission, I most humbly require your gracious remission and pardon." The king rejoicing inwardly not a little, said again, "We do not only pardon you thereof, but also give you our princely thanks, both for the proceeding therein, and also for your good

and speedy exploit [6]," commanding him for that time to take his rest, and to repair again to him after dinner, for the farther relation of his embassy. The king then went to mass; and after at convenient time he went to dinner.

It is not to be doubted but that this ambassador hath been since his return with his great friends, the Bishop of Winchester, and Sir Thomas Lovell, to whom he hath declared the effect of all his speedy progress; nor yet what joy they conceived thereof. And after his departure from the king in the morning, his highness sent for the bishop, and Sir Thomas Lovell; to whom he declared the wonderful expedition of his ambassador, commending therewith his excellent wit, and in especial the invention and advancing of the matter left out of his commission and instructions. The king's words rejoiced these worthy counsellors not a

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[6] Thomas Storer, in his metrical Life of Wolsey, 1599, has the following stanza, in which the expedition Wolsey used on this occasion is not unpoetically alluded to:

> "The Argonautic vessel never past
> With swifter course along the Colchian main,
> Than my small bark with fair and speedy blast
> Convey'd me forth, and reconvey'd again;
> Thrice had Arcturus driv'n his restless wain,
> And heav'ns bright lamp the day had thrice reviv'd
> From first departure, till I last arriv'd."

little, for as much as he was of their preferment.

Then when this ambassador remembered the king's commandment, and saw the time draw fast on of his repair before the king and his council, [he] prepared him in a readiness, and resorted unto the place assigned by the king, to declare his embassy. Without all doubt he reported the effect of all his affairs and proceedings so exactly, with such gravity and eloquence that all the council that heard him could do no less but commend him, esteeming his expedition to be almost beyond the capacity of man. The king of his mere motion, and gracious consideration, gave him at that time for his diligent and faithful service, the deanery of Lincoln [7], which at that time was one of the worthiest spiritual promotions, that he gave under the degree of a bishoprick. And thus from thenceforward he grew more and more into estimation and authority, and after [was] promoted by the king to be his almoner. Here may all men note the chances of fortune, that followeth some whom she listeth to promote, and even so to some her favour is contrary, though they should travail never so much, with

[7] He was collated Feb. 2, A. D. 1508. Le Neve's *Fasti*. p. 146.

[all the] urgent diligence and painful study, that they could devise or imagine: whereof, for my part, I have tasted of the experience.

Now ye shall understand that all this tale that I have declared of his good expedition in the king's embassy, I received it of his own mouth and report, after his fall, lying at that time in the great park of Richmond, I being then there attending upon him; taking an occasion upon divers communications, to tell me this journey, with all the circumstances, as I have here before rehearsed.

When death (that favoureth none estate, king or keiser) had taken that prudent prince Henry the Seventh out of this present life (on whose soul Jesu have mercy!) who for his inestimable wisdom was noted and called, in every Christian region, the second Solomon, what practices, inventions, and compasses were then used about that young prince, King Henry the Eighth, his only son, and the great provision made for the funerals of the one, and the costly devices for the coronation of the other, with that virtuous Queen Catherine [8], then the king's wife newly

[8] These words follow in most of the manuscripts, but are probably an interpolation: "and mother afterwards of the queen's highness, that now is, (whose virtuous life and godly disposition Jesu long preserve, and continue against the malignity of her corrupt enemies!)"

married. I omit and leave the circumstances thereof to historiographers of chronicles of princes, the which is no part mine intendment.

After all these solemnities and costly triumphs finished, and that our natural, young, lusty and courageous prince and sovereign lord, King Henry the Eighth, entering into the flower of pleasant youth, had taken upon him the regal sceptre and the imperial diadem of this fertile and plentiful realm of England (which at that time flourished in all abundance of wealth and riches, whereof he was inestimably garnished and furnished), called then the golden world, such grace of plenty reigned then within this realm. Now let us return again unto the almoner (of whom I have taken upon me to write), whose head was full of subtil wit and policy, [and] perceiving a plain path to walk in towards promotion, [he] handled himself so politicly, that he found the means to be made one of the king's council, and to grow in good estimation and favour with the king, to whom the king gave a house at Bridewell, in Fleet Street, sometime Sir Richard Empson's [9], where he kept house for his family,

[9] This house merged to the crown by the attainder of Empson, and appears to have been a princely dwelling, for in the patent, an orchard and twelve gardens are enumerated as belonging to it. The grant bears date in 1510.

and he daily attended upon the king in the court, being in his especial grace and favour, [having][1] then great suit made unto him, as counsellors most commonly have that be in favour. His sentences and witty persuasions in the council chamber [were][2] always so pithy that they, always as occasion moved them, asisgned him for his filed tongue and ornate eloquence, to be their expositor unto the king's majesty in all their proceedings. In whom the king conceived such a loving fantasy, and in especial for that he was most earnest and readiest among all the council to advance the king's only will and pleasure, without any respect to the case; the king, therefore, perceived him to be a meet instrument for the accomplishment of his devised will and pleasure, called him more near unto him, and esteemed him so highly that his estimation and favour put all other ancient counsellors out of their accustomed favour, that they were in before; insomuch that the king committed all his will and pleasure unto his disposition and order. Who wrought so all his matters, that all his endeavour was only to satisfy the king's mind, knowing right well, that it was the very vein and right course to bring him to high promotion. The king was young and lusty, disposed all to mirth and pleasure, and

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[1] *Who had.* MS. L.

[2] *Was.* MS. L.

to follow his desire and appetite, nothing minding to travail in the busy affairs of this realm. The which the almoner perceiving very well, took upon him therefore to disburden the king of so weighty a charge and troublesome business, putting the king in comfort that he shall not need to spare any time of his pleasure, for any business that should necessarily happen in the council, as long as he, being there and having the king's authority and commandment, doubted not to see all things sufficiently furnished and perfected; the which would first make the king privy of all such matters as should pass through their hands before he would proceed to the finishing or determining of the same, whose mind and pleasure he would fulfill and follow to the uttermost, wherewith the king was wonderly pleased. And whereas the other ancient counsellors would, according to the office of good counsellors, diverse times persuade the king to have sometime an intercourse in to the council, there to hear what was done in weighty matters, the which pleased the king nothing at all, for he loved nothing worse than to be constrained to do any thing contrary to his royal will and pleasure; and that knew the almoner very well, having a secret intelligence of the king's natural inclination, and so fast as the other counsellors advised the king to leave

his pleasure, and to attend to the affairs of his realm, so busily did the almoner persuade him to the contrary; which delighted him much, and caused him to have the greater affection and love to the almoner. Thus the almoner ruled all them that before ruled him; such [things] did his policy and wit bring to pass. Who was now in high favour, but Master Almoner? Who had all the suit but Master Almoner? And who ruled all under the king, but Master Almoner? Thus he proceeded still in favour; at last, in came presents, gifts, and rewards so plentifully, that I dare say he lacked nothing that might either please his fantasy or enrich his coffers; fortune smiled so upon him; but to what end she brought him, ye shall hear after. Therefore let all men, to whom fortune extendeth her grace, not trust too much to her fickle favour and pleasant promises, under colour whereof she carrieth venemous gall. For when she seeth her servant in most highest authority, and that he assureth himself most assuredly in her favour, then turneth she her visage and pleasant countenance unto a frowning cheer, and utterly forsaketh him: such assurance is in her inconstant favour and sugared promise. Whose deceitful behaviour hath not been hid among the wise sort of famous clerks, that have exclaimed her and written vehemently against her dissimulation and feigned favour, warning all men thereby, the less

to regard her, and to have her in small estimation of any trust or faithfulness.

This almoner, climbing thus hastily on fortune's wheel, that no man was of that estimation with the king as he was, for his wisdom and other witty qualities, he had a special gift of natural eloquence[3], with a filed tongue to pro-

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[3] Doctor Wordsworth has cited a passage from Sir Thomas More, in his *Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation*, in which is a lively and characteristic picture, "designed, no doubt, to represent the cardinal at the head of his own table." I could not refuse myself the pleasure of laying it before the reader.

"*Anthony.* I praye you, cosyn, tell on. *Vincent.* Whan I was fyrste in Almaine, uncle, it happed me to be somewhat favoured with a great manne of the churche, and a great state, one of the greatest in all that country there. And in dede whosoever might spende as muche as hee mighte in one thinge and other, were a ryght great estate in anye countrey of Christendom. But glorious was hee verye farre above all measure, and that was great pitie, for it dyd harme, and made him abuse many great gyftes that God hadde given him. Never was he saciate of hearinge his owne prayse.

So happed it one daye, that he had in a great audience made an oracion in a certayne matter, wherein he liked himselfe so well, that at his diner he sat, him thought, on thornes, tyll he might here how they that sat with hym at his borde, woulde commend it. And whan hee had sitte musing a while, devysing, as I thought after, uppon some pretty proper waye to bring it in withal, at the laste, for lacke of a better, lest he should have letted the matter too long, he brought it even blontly forth, and asked us al that satte at his bordes end (for at his owne messe in the middes there sat but himself alone) howe well we lyked his oracyon that he hadde made that daye. But in fayth Uncle, whan that probleme was once proponed, till it was full answered, no manne (I wene) eate one morsell of meate more. Every manne was fallen in so depe a studye, for the fyndynge of some exquisite prayse. For he that shoulde have brought oute but a vulgare and a common commendacion, woulde have thoughte himself shamed for ever,

nounce the same, that he was able with the same to persuade and allure all men to his pur-

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Than sayde we our sentences by rowe as wee sat, from the lowest unto the hyghest in good order, as it had bene a great matter of the comon weale, in a right solemne counsayle. Whan it came to my parte, I wyll not saye it, Uncle, for no boaste, mee thoughte, by oure Ladye, for my parte, I quytte my selfe metelye wel. And I lyked my selfe the better beecause mee thoughte my wordes beeinge but a straungyer, wente yet with some grace in the Almain tong wherein Jettyng my latin alone me listed to shewe my cunnyng, and I hoped to be lyked the better, because I sawe that he that sate next mee, and should saie his sentence after mee, was an unlearned Prieste, for he could speake no latin at all. But whan he came furth for hys part with my Lordes commendation, the wyly Fox, hadde be so well accustomed in courte with the craſte of flattry that he wente beyonde me to farre.

And that might I see by hym, what excellence a right meane witte may come to in one craſte, that in al his whole life studyeth and busyeth his witte about no mo but that one. But I made after a solempne vowe unto my selfe, that if ever he and I were matched together at that boarde agayne: whan we should fall to our flattrye, I would flatter in latin, that he should not contende with me no more. For though I could be contente to be out runne by an horse, yet would I no more abyde it to be out runne of an asse. But Uncle, here beganne nowe the game, he that sate hygheste, and was to speake, was a great beneficed man, and not a Doctour onely, but also somewhat learned in dede in the lawes of the Churche. A worlde it was to see howe he marked every mannes worde that spake before him. And it semed that every worde the more proper it was, the worse he liked it, for the cumbrance that he had to study out a better to passe it. The manne even swette with the labboure, so that he was faine in the while now and than to wipe his face. Howbeit in conclusion whan it came to his course, we that had spoken before him, hadde so taken up al among us before, that we hadde not lefte hym one wye worde to speake after.

Anthony. Alas good manne! amonge so manye of you, some good felow shold have lente hym one. *Vincent.* It needed not as happe was Uncle. For he found out such a shift, that in hys flatteryng he passed us all the mayny. *Anthony.* Why, what sayde he Cosyn? *Vyncent.* By our Ladye Uncle not one worde.

pose. Proceeding thus in fortune's blissfulness, it chanced the wars between the realms of England and France to be open, but upon what occasion I know not, in so much as the king, being fully persuaded, and resolved, in his most royal person to invade his foreign enemies with a puissant army, to delay their hault[4] brags, within their own territory: wherefore it was thought very necessary, that this royal enterprise should be speedily provided and plentifully furnished in every degree of things apt and convenient for the same; the

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But lyke as I trow Plinius telleth, that whan Appelles the Paynter in the table that he paynted of the sacryfyce and the death of Iphigenia, hadde in the makynge of the sorowefull countenances of the other noble menne of Greece that beehelde it, spente oute so much of his craft and hys cunnynge, that whan he came to make the countenance of King Agamemnon her father, whiche hee reserved for the laste,.....he could devise no maner of newe heavy chere and countenance—but to the intent that no man should see what maner countenance it was, that her father hadde, the paynter was fayne to paynte hym, holdyng his face in his handkercher. The like pageant in a maner plaide us there this good auncient honourable flatterer. For whan he sawe that he coulde fynde no woordes of prayse, that woulde passe al that hadde bene spoken before all readye, the wyly Fox woulde speake never a word, but as he that were ravished unto heavenwarde with the wonder of the wisdom and eloquence that my Lordes Grace hadde uttered in that oracyon, he fette a long syghe with an Oh! from the bottome of hys breste, and helde uppe bothe hys handes, and lyfte uppe bothe his handes and lift uppe his head, and caste up his eyen into the welkin and wepte. *Anthony.* Forsooth Cosyn, he plaide his parte verye properlye. But was that greate Prelates oracion Cosyn, any thyng prayseworthye?" *Sir Thomas More's Works*, p. 1221, 1222.

[4] *i. e.* haughty.

expedition whereof, the king's highness thought no man's wit so meet, for policy and painful travail, as his wellbeloved almoner's was, to whom therefore he committed his whole affiance and trust therein. And he being nothing scrupulous in any thing, that the king would command him to do, although it seemed to other very difficile, took upon him the whole charge and burden of all this business, and proceeded so therein, that he brought all things to a good pass and purpose in a right decent order, as of all manner of victuals, provisions, and other necessaries, convenient for so noble a voyage and puissant army.

All things being by him perfected, and furnished, the king, not minding to delay or neglect the time appointed, but with noble and valiant courage advanced to his royal enterprise, passed the seas between Dover and Calais, where he prosperously arrived [5]; and after some abode there of his Grace, as well for the arrival of his puissant army royal, provisions and munitions, as to consult about his princely affairs, marched forward, in good order of battle, through the Low Country, until he came to the strong town of Terouanne. To the which he laid his assault, and assailed it so fiercely with continual assaults, that within short space he caused them

[5] June 1513.

within to yield the town. Unto which place the Emperor Maximilian repaired unto the king our sovereign Lord, with a puissant army, like a mighty and friendly prince, taking of the king his Grace's wages [6], as well for his own person as for his retinue, the which is a rare thing seldom seen, heard, or read, that an emperor should take wages, and fight under a king's banner. Thus after the king had obtained the possession of this puissant fort, and set all things in due order, for the defence and preservation of the same to his highness' use, he departed from thence, and marched toward the city of Tournay, and there again laid his siege; to the which he gave so fierce and sharp assaults, that they within were constrained of fine force [7] to yield up the town unto his victorious majesty. At which time he gave the Almoner the bishoprick of the same See, for some part of recompense of his pains sustained in that journey. And when the King had established all things there agreeable to his princely pleasure,

[6] 100 crowns a day.

[7] "Heaven and happiness eternal is τὸ ἐπιτύμητον, that which is joined in issue, to which we are intituled, for which we plead, to which we have right; from whence by injury and treachery we have been ejected, and from whence *by fine force* we are kept out: for this we do *clamare*, by the Clergy, our Counsel, in the view of God and Angels. *Montague's Diatribe upon Selden's History of Tithes*, p. 130. *W.*

and furnished the same with noble valiant captains and men of war, for the safeguard of the town against his enemies, he returned again into England, taking with him divers worthy persons of the peers of France, as the Duke of Longueville, and Countie Clermont, and divers other taken there in a skirmish most victoriously. After whose return immediately, the See of Lincoln fell void by the death of Doctor Smith, late bishop of that dignity, the which benefice and promotion his Grace gave unto his Almoner [8], Bishop elect of Tournay, who was not negligent to take possession thereof, and made all the speed he could for his consecration: the solemnization whereof ended, he found the means to get the possession of all his predecessor's goods into his hands, whereof I have seen divers times some part thereof furnish his house. It was not long after that Doctor Bambridge [9], Archbishop of York, died at Rome, being there the king's ambassador unto the Pope Julius; unto which benefice the king presented his new Bishop of Lincoln; so that he

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[8] He was consecrated bishop of Lincoln, March 26, A.D. 1514. *Le Neve's Fasti*, p. 141. *W.*

[9] Bambridge was poisoned (according to Stow) by Rinaldo da Modena, his chaplain, who was incited to the act by revenge, having suffered the indignity of a blow from the archbishop.

had three bishopricks[1] in one year given him. Then prepared he again of new as fast for his translation from the See of Lincoln, unto the See of York. After which solemnization done, and he being in possession of the Archbishoprick of York, and *Primas Angliæ*, thought himself sufficient to compare with Canterbury; and thereupon erected his cross in the court, and in every other place, as well in the presence of the

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[1] Dr. Robert Barnes preached a Sermon on the 21th of December, 1525, at St. Edward's Church in Cambridge, from which Sermon certain Articles were drawn out upon which he was soon after called to make answer before the Cardinal. Barnes has left behind him a description of this examination. The sixth of these Articles was as follows. "I wyll never beleeve that one man may be, by the lawe of God, a Byshop of two or three cities, yea of an whole countrey, for it is contrarye to St. Paule, which sayth, *I have lefte hee behynde, to set in every citye a byshop.*"

"I was brought afore my Lorde Cardinall into his Galary, (continues Dr. Barnes), and there hee reade all myne articles, tyll hee came to this, and there he stopped, and sayd, that this touched hym, and therefore hee asked me, if I thought it wronge, that one byshop shoulde have so many cityes underneath hym; unto whom I answered, that I could no farther go, than St. Paules texte, whych set in every cytye a byshop. Then asked hee mee, if I thought it now unright (seeing the ordinaunce of the Church) that one byshop should have so many cities. I aunswered that I knew none ordinaunce of the Church, as concerning this thinge, but St. Paules sayinge onelye. Nevertheles I did see a contrarye custom and practise in the world, but I know not the originall thereof. Then sayde hee, that in the Apostles tyme, there were dyvers cities, some seven myle, some six myle long, and over them was there set but one byshop, and of their suburbs also: so likewise now, a byshop hath but one citye to his cathedrall churche, and the country about is as suburbs unto it. Me thought this was farre fetched, but I durst not denye it." *Barnes's Works*, p. 210. A.D. 1573. *W.*

Archbishop of Canterbury, and in the precinct of his jurisdiction as elsewhere. And forasmuch as Canterbury claimeth superiority and obedience of York, as he doth of all other bishops within this realm, forasmuch as he is *primas totius Angliæ*, and therefore claimeth, as a token of an ancient obedience, of York to abate the advancing of his cross, in the presence of the cross of Canterbury; notwithstanding York, nothing minding to desist from bearing of his cross in manner as is said before, caused his cross to be advanced[2] and borne before him, as well in the presence of Canterbury as elsewhere. Wherefore Canterbury being moved therewith, gave York a certain check for his presumption; by reason whereof there engendered some grudge between Canterbury and York. And York perceiving the obedience that Canterbury claimed to have of York, intended to provide some such means that he would rather be superior in dignity to Canterbury than to be either obedient or equal to him. Wherefore he obtained first

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[2] This was not the first time in which this point of precedency had been contested. Edward III, in the sixth year of his reign, at a time when a similar debate was in agitation, having summoned a Parliament at York, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and all the other Prelates of his Province, declined giving their attendance, that the Metropolitan of all England might not be obliged to submit his Cross to that of York, in the Province of the latter. *Fox*, p. 367, 388. *W.*

to be made Priest Cardinal, and *Legatus de latere;* unto whom the Pope sent a Cardinal's hat, with certain bulls for his authority in that behalf. Yet by the way of communication ye shall understand that the Pope sent him this hat as a worthy jewel of his honour, dignity, and authority, the which was conveyed hither in a varlet's budget, who seemed to all men to be but a person of small estimation. Whereof York being advertised, of the baseness of the messenger, and of the people's opinion and rumour, thought it for his honour meet, that so high a jewel should not be conveyed by so simple a messenger; wherefore he caused him to be stayed by the way, immediately after his arrival in England, where he was newly furnished in all manner of apparel, with all kind of costly silks, which seemed decent for such an high ambassador. And that done, he was encountered upon Blackheath, and there received with a great assembly of prelates, and lusty gallant gentlemen, and from thence conducted and conveyed through London, with great triumph. Then was great and speedy provision[3] and preparation

[3] "Not farre unlike to this was the receaving of the Cardinals hatte. Which when a ruffian had brought unto him to Westminster under his cloke, he clothed the messenger in rich aray, and sent him backe to Dover againe, and appoynted the Bishop of Canterbury to meet him, and then another company of Lordes and Gentles I wotte not how off, ere it came to Westminster,

made in Westminster Abbey for the confirmation of his high dignity; the which was executed by all the bishops and abbots nigh or about London, in rich mitres and copes, and other costly ornaments; which was done in so solemn a wise as I have not seen the like unless it had been at the coronation of a mighty prince or king.

Obtaining this dignity [he] thought himself meet to encounter with Canterbury in his high jurisdiction before expressed; and that also he was as meet to bear authority among the temporal powers, as among the spiritual jurisdictions. Wherefore remembering as well the taunts and checks before sustained of Canterbury, which he intended to redress, having a respect to the advancement of worldly honour, promotion, and great benefits, [he] found the means with the king, that he was made Chancellor of England; and Canterbury thereof dismissed, who had continued in that honourable room and office, since long before the death of King Henry the Seventh [4].

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[4] "Where it was set on a cupborde and tapers about, so that the greatest Duke in the lande must make curtesie thereto: yea and to his empty seat he being away." *Tindal's Works*, p. 374. *Fox's Acts*, p. 902. *W.*

[4] Dr. Fiddes and Mr. Grove remark, that this is a prejudiced statement of the case, and that Cavendish was misled by false information. It does not indeed appear that Wolsey used any

Now he being in possession of the chancellorship, endowed with the promotion of an Archbishop, and Cardinal Legate *de latere*, thought himself fully furnished with such authorities and dignities, that he was able to surmount Canterbury in all ecclesiastical jurisdictions, having power to convocate Canterbury, and other bishops, within his precincts, to assemble at his convocation, in any place within this realm where he would assign; taking upon him the correction of all matters in every diocese, having there through all the realm all manner of spiritual ministers, as commissaries, scribes, apparitors, and all other officers to furnish his courts; visited also all spiritual houses, and presented by prevention whom he listed to their benefices.

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indirect means to supersede Archbishop Warham, and the following passages in the correspondence of Sir Thomas More with Ammonius seem to prove the contrary. Sir Thomas says: "The Archbishop of Canterbury hath at length resigned the office of Chancellor, which burthen, as you know, *he had strenuously endeavoured to lay down for some years*; and the long wished for retreat being now obtained, he enjoys a most pleasant recess in his studies, with the agreeable reflection of having acquitted himself honourably in that high station. The Cardinal of York, *by the King's Orders*, succeeds him; who discharges the duty of the post so conspicuously as to surpass the hopes of all, notwithstanding the great opinion they had of his other eminent qualities: and what was most rare, to give so much content and satisfaction after so excellent a predecessor."

Ammonius, writing to Erasmus, says: "Your Archbishop, with the King's good leave, has laid down his post, which that of York, *after much importunity*, has accepted of, and behaves most beautifully."

And to the advancing of his Legatine honours and jurisdictions, he had masters of his faculties, masters Ceremoniarum, and such other like officers to the glorifying of his dignity. Then had he two great crosses of silver, whereof one of them was for his Archbishoprick, and the other for his Legacy, borne always before him whither soever he went or rode, by two of the most tallest and comeliest priests that he could get within all this realm[5]. And to the increase of his gains he had also the bishoprick of Durham, and the Abbey of St. Albans *in commendam;* howbeit after, when Bishop Fox, of Winchester died, he surrendered Durham into the King's hands, and in lieu thereof took the Bishoprick of Winchester. Then he held also, as it were *in ferme,* Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, because

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[5] This is noticed by the satirist Roy, in his invective against Wolsey:

> Before him rydeth two prestes stronge,
> And they beare two crosses right longe,
> Gapinge in every man's face:
> After them follow two lay-men secular,
> And each of them holdinge a pillar
> In their hondes, insteade of a mace.
> Then followeth my lord on his mule
> Trapped with gold, &c.

Dr. Wordsworth, misled by Anstis, has erroneously attributed this satire to Skelton, confounding it probably with that writer's

> "Why come ye not to court."

the incumbents thereof were strangers [6], born out of this realm, continuing always beyond the seas, in their own native countries, or else at Rome, from whence they were sent by the Pope in legation into England to the king. And for their reward, at their departure, the prudent King Henry the Seventh thought it better to reward them with that thing, he himself could not keep, than to defray or disburse any thing of his treasure. And then they being but strangers, thought it more meet for their assurance, and to have their jurisdictions conserved and justly used, to permit the Cardinal to have their benefices for a convenient yearly sum of money to be paid them by exchanges in their countries, than to be troubled, or burdened with the conveyance thereof unto them: so that all their spiritual promotions, and jurisdictions of their bishopricks were clearly in his domain and disposition, to prefer or promote whom he listed unto them. He had also a great number daily attending upon him, both of noblemen and worthy gentlemen, of great estimation and possessions, with no small number of the tallest yeomen,

[6] Even so early as the reign of Henry III, the annual amount of the benefices in the hands of Italians, in this kingdom, was 70,000 marks; more than three times the value of the whole revenue of the crown. *M. Paris, in Vit. Hen. III. Ann.* 1252.

Wordsworth.

that he could get in all this realm, in so much that well was that nobleman and gentleman, that might prefer any tall and comely yeoman unto his service.

Now to speak of the order of his house and officers, I think it necessary here to be remembered. First ye shall understand, that he had in his hall, daily, three especial tables furnished with three principal officers; that is to say, a Steward, which was always a dean or a priest; a Treasurer, a knight; and a Comptroller, an esquire; which bare always within his house their white staves. Then had he a cofferer, three marshals, two yeomen ushers, two grooms, and an almoner. He had in the hall-kitchen two clerks of his kitchen, a clerk comptroller, a surveyor of the dresser, a clerk of his spicery. Also there in his hall-kitchen he had two master cooks, and twelve other labourers, and children as they called them; a yeoman of his scullery, and two other in his silver scullery; two yeomen of his pastry, and two grooms[7].

Now in his privy kitchen he had a Master Cook who went daily in damask satin, or velvet, with a chain of gold about his neck; and two grooms, with six labourers and children to serve in that place; in the Larder there, a yeoman

[7] These are termed *under pastelers*, in the more recent MSS.

and a groom; in the Scalding-house, a yeoman and two grooms; in the Scullery there, two persons; in the Buttery, two yeomen and two grooms, with two other pages; in the Pantry, two yeomen, two grooms, and two other pages; and in the Ewery likewise: in the Cellar, three yeomen, two grooms, and two pages; beside a gentleman for the month: in the Chaundery, three persons: in the Wafery, two; in the Wardrobe of beds, the master of the wardrobe, and ten other persons; in the Laundry, a yeoman, a groom, and three pages: of purveyors, two, and one groom; in the Bakehouse, a yeoman and two grooms; in the Wood-yard, a yeoman and a groom; in the Garner, one; in the Garden, a yeoman and two labourers. Now at the gate, he had of porters, two tall yeomen and two grooms; a yeoman of his barge: in the stable, he had a master of his horse, a clerk of the stable, a yeoman of the same; a Saddler, a Farrier, a yeoman of his Chariot, a Sumpter-man, a yeoman of his stirrup; a Muleteer; sixteen grooms of his stable, every of them keeping four great geldings: in the Almeserie, a yeoman and a groom.

Now I will declare unto you the officers of his chapel, and singing men of the same. First, he had there a Dean, who was always a great clerk and a divine; a Sub-dean; a Repeater of

the quire; a Gospeller[8], a Pisteller; and twelve singing Priests: of Scholars, he had first, a Master of the children; twelve singing children; sixteen singing men; with a servant to attend upon the said children. In the Revestry[9], a yeoman and two grooms: then were there divers retainers of cunning singing men, that came thither at divers sundry principal feasts. But to speak of the furniture of his chapel passeth my capacity to declare the number of the costly ornaments and rich jewels, that were occupied in the same continually. For I have seen there, in a procession, worn forty-four copes of one suit, very rich, besides the sumptuous crosses, candlesticks, and other necessary ornaments to the comely furniture of the same. Now shall ye understand that he had two cross bearers, and two pillar bearers: and in his chamber, all these persons; that is to say: his high Chamberlain, his Vice Chamberlain; twelve Gentlemen ushers, daily waiters; besides two in his privy chamber; and of Gentlemen waiters in his privy chamber he had six; and also he had of Lords nine or ten [1], who had each of them allowed two

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[8] The *Gospeller* was the priest who read the Gospel. The *Pisteller*, the clerk who read the Epistle.

[9] *Revestry*, from the French *Revestir*; contractedly written *Vestry*.

[1] Those Lords that were placed in the great and privy cham-

servants; and the Earl of Derby had allowed five men. Then had he of Gentlemen, as cupbearers, carvers, sewers, and Gentlemen daily waiters, forty persons; of yeomen ushers he had six; of grooms in his chamber he had eight; of yeomen of his chamber he had forty-six daily to attend upon his person; he had also a priest there which was his Almoner, to attend upon his table at dinner. Of doctors and chaplains attending in his closet to say daily mass before him, he had sixteen persons: and a clerk of his closet. Also he had two secretaries, and two clerks of his signet; and four counsellors learned in the laws of the realm.

And for as much as he was Chancellor of England, it was necessary for him to have divers officers of the Chancery to attend daily upon him, for the better furniture of the same. That is to say: first, he had the Clerk of the Crown, a Riding Clerk, a Clerk of the Hanaper, a Chafer of Wax. Then had he a Clerk of the Check, as well to check his Chaplains, as his Yeomen of the Chamber; he had also four Footmen, which were apparelled in rich running coats, whensoever he rode any journey. Then had he an herald at Arms, and a Sergeant at Arms; a Physician;

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bers were *Wards*, and as such paid for their board and education. It will be seen below that he had a particular officer called "Instructor of his Wards." *Grove.*

an Apothecary; four Minstrels; a Keeper of his Tents, an Armourer; an Instructor of his Wards; two Yeomen in his Wardrobe; and a Keeper of his Chamber in the court. He had also daily in his house the Surveyor of York, a Clerk of the Green Cloth; and an Auditor. All this number of persons were daily attendant upon him in his house, down-lying and up-rising. And at meals, there was continually in his chamber a board kept for his Chamberlains, and Gentlemen Ushers, having with them a mess of the young Lords [2], and another for gentlemen.

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[2] Among whom, as we shall see below, was the eldest son of the Earl of Northumberland. This was according to a practice much more ancient than the time of Wolsey; agreeably to which, young men of the most exalted rank resided in the families of distinguished ecclesiastics, under the denomination of pages, but more probably for the purposes of education than of service. In this way Sir Thomas More was brought up under Cardinal Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury; of whom he has given a very interesting character in his Utopia. From Fiddes's Appendix to the Life of Wolsey, p. 19, it appears that the custom was at least as old as the time of Grosthed, Bishop of Lincoln, in the reign of Henry III, and that it continued for some time during the seventeeth century. In a paper, written by the Earl of Arundel, in the year 1620, and intitled *Instructions for you my son William, how to behave yourself at Norwich*, the earl charges him, "You shall in all things reverence, honour, and obey my Lord Bishop of Norwich, as you would do any of your parents: esteeminge whatsoever he shall tell or command you, as if your grandmother of Arundell, your mother, or myself should say it: and in all things esteem yourself as my lord's page; a breeding, which youths of my house, far superior to you, were accustomed unto; as my grandfather of Norfolk, and his brother, my good uncle of Northampton, were both bredd as pages with bishopps." See also Paul's *Life of Archbishop Whitgift*, p. 97.

Besides all these, there was never an officer and gentleman, or any other worthy person in his house, but he was allowed some three, some two servants; and all other one at the least; which amounted to a great number of persons. Now have I showed you the order of his house, and what officers and servants he had, according to his checker roll, attending daily upon him; besides his retainers, and other persons being suitors, that most commonly were fed in his hall. And whensoever we shall see any more such subjects within this realm, that shall maintain any such estate and household, I am content he be advanced above him in honour and estimation. Therefore here I make an end of his household; whereof the number was about the sum of five hundred[3] persons according to his checker roll.

You have heard of the order and officers of

It is not out of place to mention, what we are told by Sir George Wheler in his *Protestant Monastery*, p. 158. A. D. 1698. "I have heard say, in the times no longer ago than King Charles I, that many noblemen's and gentlemen's houses in the country were like academies, where the gentlemen and women of lesser fortunes came for education with those of the family; among which number was the famous Sir Beaville Granville and his lady, father and mother of our present lord of Bath." *W.*

[3] Dr. Wordsworth's edition says *one hundred and eighty*. The manuscripts differ in stating the numbers, the edition of 1641 has *eight hundred persons*. And, in consequence, Wolsey has been so far misrepresented, by some writers, as to have it asserted that he kept *eight hundred servants!*

his house; now I do intend to proceed forth unto other of his proceedings; for, after he was thus furnished, in manner as I have before rehearsed unto you, he was twice sent in embassy unto the Emperor Charles the Fifth, that now reigneth; and father unto King Philip, now our sovereign lord. Forasmuch as the old Emperor Maximilian was dead, and for divers urgent causes touching the king's majesty, it was thought good that in so weighty a matter, and to so noble a prince, that the Cardinal was most meet to be sent on so worthy an embassy. Wherefore he being ready to take upon him the charge thereof, was furnished in all degrees and purposes most likest a great prince, which was much to the high honour of the king's majesty, and of this realm. For first in his proceeding he was furnished like a cardinal of high estimation, having all things thereto correspondent and agreeable. His gentlemen, being in number very many, clothed in livery coats of crimson velvet of the most purest colour that might be invented, with chains of gold about their necks; and all his yeomen and other mean officers were in coats of fine scarlet, guarded with black velvet a hand broad. He being thus furnished in this manner, was twice sent unto the emperor into Flanders, the emperor lying then in Bruges;

who entertained our ambassador very highly [4], discharging him and all his train of their charge; for there was no house within all Bruges, wherein any gentlemen of the Lord Ambassador's lay, or had recourse, but that the owners of the houses were commanded by the emperor's officers, that they, upon pain of their lives, should take no money for any thing that the cardinal's servants should take or dispend in victuals; no, although they were disposed to make any costly banquets: furthermore commanding their said hosts, to see that they lacked no such thing as they desired or required to have for their pleasures. Also the emperor's officers every night went through the town, from house to house, where as any English men lay or resorted, and there served their liveries [5] for all night; which was done after this manner: first, the emperor's officers brought in to the house a cast of fine manchet bread [6], two great silver pots, with wine, and a pound of fine sugar; white lights and yellow; a bowl or goblet of silver, to drink in; and every night a staff torch. This was the order of their

[4] At Bruges, "he was received with great solemnity, as belongeth unto so mighty a pillar of Christes church, and was saluted at the entring into the towne of a merry fellow which sayd, *Salve rex regis tui, atque regni sui*. Hayle both king of thy king, and also of his realme." *Tindal's Works*, p. 370, A. D. 1572.

[5] *Liveries*, are things *livered*, i. e. delivered out.

[6] Bread of the finest flour. *A cast* is a share or allottment.

liveries every night. And then in the morning, when the officers came to fetch away their stuff, then would they accompt with the host for the gentlemen's costs spent in that night and day before. Thus the emperor entertained the cardinal and all his train, for the time of his embassy there. And that done, he returned home again into England, with great triumph, being no less in estimation with the king than he was before, but rather much more.

Now will I declare unto you his order in going to Westminster Hall, daily in the term season. First, before his coming out of his privy chamber, he heard most commonly every day two masses in his privy closet; and there then said his daily service with his chaplain: and as I heard his chaplain say, being a man of credence and of excellent learning, that the cardinal, what business or weighty matters soever he had in the day, he never went to his bed with any part of his divine service unsaid, yea not so much as one collect; wherein I doubt not but he deceived the opinion of divers persons. And after mass he would return in his privy chamber again, and being advertised of the furniture of his chambers without, with noblemen, gentlemen, and other persons, would issue out into them, appareled all in red, in the habit of a cardinal; which was either of fine scarlet, or else of

crimson satin, taffety, damask, or caffa, the best that he could get for money: and upon his head a round pillion, with a noble of black velvet set to the same in the inner side; he had also a tippet of fine sables about his neck; holding in his hand a very fair orange, whereof the meat or substance within was taken out, and filled up again with the part of a sponge, wherein was vinegar, and other confections against the pestilent airs; the which he most commonly smelt unto, passing among the press, or else when he was pestered with many suitors. There was also borne before him first, the great seal of England, and then his cardinal's hat, by a nobleman or some worthy gentleman, right solemnly, bareheaded. And as soon as he was entered into his chamber of presence, where there was attending his coming to await upon him to Westminster Hall, as well noblemen and other worthy gentlemen, as noblemen and gentlemen of his own family; thus passing forth with two great crosses of silver borne before him[7]; with

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[7] So our author, in his *poetical legend*, dwells upon this regal pomp of his master:

'My crossis twayne of silver long and greate,
That dayly before me were carried hyghe,
Upon great horses opynly in the streett;
And massie pillers gloryouse to the eye,
With pollaxes gylt that no man durst come nyghe
My presence, I was so prynicely to behold;
Ridyng on my mule trapped in silver and in golde'

See Appendix.

also two great pillars of silver, and his pursuivant at arms with a great mace of silver gilt. Then his gentlemen ushers cried, and said: "On, my lords and masters, on before; make way for my Lord's Grace!" Thus passed he down from his chamber through the hall; and when he came to the hall door, there was attendant for him his mule, trapped all together in crimson velvet, and gilt stirrups. When he was mounted, with his cross bearers, and pillar bearers [8], also upon great horses trapped with [fine] scarlet. Then marched he forward, with his train and furniture in manner as I have declared, having about him four footmen, with gilt pollaxes in their hands; and thus he went until he came to Westminster Hall door. And there alighted, and went after this manner, up through the hall into the chancery; howbeit he would most commonly stay awhile at a bar, made for him, a little beneath the chancery [on the right hand], and there commune some time with the judges, and sometime with other persons. And that done he would repair into the chancery, sitting there till eleven of the

[8] The pillar, as well as the cross, was emblematical, and designed to imply, that the dignitary before whom it was carried was a *pillar* of the church. Dr. Barnes, who had good reason why these pillars should be uppermost in his thoughts, glances at this emblem, in the case of the cardinal, in the following words; "and yet it must bee true, because a *pillar of the church* hath spoken it." *Barnes' Works*, p. 210. A.D. 1572. See also *Tindal's Works*, p. 370. *W.*

clock, hearing suitors, and determining of divers matters. And from thence, he would divers times, go into the star chamber, as occasion did serve; where he spared neither high nor low, but judged every estate according to their merits and deserts.

He used every Sunday to repair to the court, being then for the most part at Greenwich, in the term; with all his former order, taking his barge at his privy stairs, furnished with tall yeomen standing upon the bayles, and all gentlemen being within with him; and landed again at the Crane in the vintry. And from thence he rode upon his mule, with his crosses, his pillars, his hat, and the great seal, through Thames Street, until he came to Billingsgate, or thereabout; and there took his barge again, and rowed to Greenwich, where he was nobly received of the lords and chief officers of the king's house, as the treasurer and comptroller, with others; and so conveyed to the king's chamber: his crosses commonly standing for the time of his abode in the court, on the one side of the king's cloth of estate. He being thus in the court, it was wonderly furnished with noblemen and gentlemen, much otherwise than it was before his coming. And after dinner, among the lords, having some consultation with the king, or with the council, he would depart home-

ward with like state[9]: and this order he used continually, as opportunity did serve.

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[9] It was made One of the Articles of Impeachment against him: "That by his outrageous Pride he had greatly shadowed a long season his Grace's Honour." Art. XLIV. Sir Thomas More, when Speaker of the House of Commons, noticing a complaint which had been made by the cardinal, that nothing could be said or done in that house, but it was presently spread abroad, and became the talk of every tavern or alehouse, 'Masters, (says he) forasmuche as my lord cardinall latelie laied to our charges the lightnes of our tongues for things uttered out of this house, it shall not in my minde be amisse to receive him with all his pompe, with his maces, his pillers, pollaxes, his crosses, his hatt, and the greate seal too; to thintent, that if he finde the like fault with us heereafter, wee maie be the bolder from ourselves to laie the blame on those that his grace bringeth hither with him." *Roper's Life of Sir Thomas More*, p. 21, edit. 1817. Sir Thomas also, in his Apology, written in the year 1533, reflects severely upon the change introduced among the clergy, through the cardinall's means, in the luxury and sumptuousness of their dress. *Works*, p. 892.

The pulpit likewise occasionally raised its voice against him. Doctor Barnes, who was burnt in Smithfield in the year 1541, preached at St. Edward's Church in Cambridge, a sermon, for which he was called to appear before the cardinal. This was a part of their dialogue, as it is related in Fox: "What Master Doctor (said the cardinall) had you not a sufficient scope in the Scriptures to teach the people, but that my golden shoes, my pollaxes, my pillers, my golden cushions, my cross did so sore offend you, that you must make us *ridiculum caput* amongst the people? We were jolily that day laughed to scorne. Verely it was a sermon more fitter to be preached on a stage than in a pulpit; for at the last you said I weare a paire of *redde* gloves, I should say *bloudie* gloves *(quoth you)* that I should not be cold in the midst of my ceremonies. And Barnes answered, I spake nothing but the truth out of the Scriptures, according to my conscience, and according to the old doctors." *Fox's Acts*, p. 1088. *W.*

The following curious passage from Doctor Barnes's Supplication to the King is probably more correct than the exaggeration of the good old martyrologist. It opens to us, as Dr. Wordsworth justly remarks, some part of the philosophy upon which the cardinal defended the fitness of that pomp and state which he maintained.

Thus in great honour, triumph, and glory, he reigned a long season, ruling all things within

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" Theie have *baculum pastolarem* to take shepe with but it is not like a shepeherdes hooke, for it is intricate and manifolde crooked, and turneth always in, so that it may be called a mase, for it hath neither beginning nor ending, and it is more like to knocke swine and wolves in the head with, than to take shepe. *Theie have also pillers and pollaxes*, and other ceremonies, which no doubte be but trifels and thinges of nought. I praye you what is the cause that you calle your staffe a shepeherdes staffe? You helpe no man with it? You comforte no man?—You lift up no man with it? But you have stryken downe kynges, and kyngedomes with it; and knocked in the head Dukes and Earls with it. Call you this a sheepeherdes staffe? There is a space in the shepeherdes staffe for the foote to come oute againe, but youre staffe turneth and windeth alwayes inwarde and never outewarde, signifieing that whatsoever he be that cometh within your daunger, that he shall neuer come oute againe. This exposition youre dedes do declare, let them be examined that you have had to do with; and let us see howe they have escaped youre shepeherdes hooke. But these be the articles for the which I must nedes be an heretike, never the less all the worlde may see how shamefully, that I have erred agaynst your holinesse in sayinge the truth. *My Lord Cardinall reasoned with me in this article, all the other he passed over, saving this and the sixth article. Here did he aske, " if I thought it good and reasonable, that he shulde lay downe his pillers and pollaxes and coyne them?"* Here is the heresye that is so abhomynable. *I made him answere, that I thoughte it well done. " Than, (saide he), howe thynke you, were it better for me (being in the honour and dignitie that I am) to coyne my pillers and pollaxes and to give the money to five or sixe beggers; than for to maintaine the commen welthe by them, as I do? Do you not reckon (quod he) the common welthe better than fyve or sixe beggers?* To this I did answere that I rekened it more to the honour of God and to the salvation of his soule and also to the comforte of his poore bretheren that they were coyned and given in almes, and as for the commenwelthe dyd not hange of them, (where be they nowe?) for as his grace knewe, the commenwelthe was afore his grace, and must be when his grace is gone, and the pillers and pollaxes came with him, and should also go away with him. Notwithstanding yf the commenwelth were in suche a condicion that it had nede of them, than might his grace so longe use them, or any other thinge in theyr stede, so long as the commenwelth neded them. Notwithstand-

this realm, appertaining unto the king, by his wisdom, and also all other weighty matters of foreign regions, with which the king of this realm had any occasion to intermeddle. All

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ing I sayd, thus muche dyd I not say in my sermon agaynst them, but all onely I dampned in my sermon the gorgeous pompe and pride of all exterior ornamentes. Than he sayde, "Well—you say very well." But as well as it was said I am sure that these wordes made me an heretike, for if these wordes had not bene therein, mine adversaries durst never have shewed their faces against me. But now they knewe well that I could never be indifferently hearde. For if I had got the victorie than must all the Bishops and my Lord Cardinal have laid downe all their gorgeous ornamentes, for the which they had rather burne xx such heretikes as I am, as all the worlde knoweth. But God is mighty, and of me hath he shewed his power, for I dare say they never intended thing more in their lives, than they did to destroy me, and yet God, of his infinite mercy hath saved me, agaynst all their violence: unto his Godly wisdome is the cause all onely knowne. The Byshop of London that was then, called Tunstal, after my departing out of prison, sayd unto a substanceyal man, that I was not ded (for I dare say his conscience did not recken me such an heretike, that I wolde have killed myself, as the voyce wente, but yet wolde he have done it gladly of his charyte) but I was, saide he, in Amsterdam (where I had never been in my lyfe, as God knoweth, nor yet in the Countrey this ten yeares) and certaine men dyd there speake with me (said he) and he fained certaine wordes that they shulde say to me, and I to them, and added thereunto that the Lord Cardinal wouldo have me againe or it shulde coste hym a greate somme of money, howe muche I do not clerelye remember. I have marvayle that my Lorde is not ashamed, thus shamefully and thus lordly to lye, althoughe he might doo it by auctoritie. And where my Lord Cardinal and he wold spend so muche money to have me agayne, I have great marvayle of it, What can they make of me? (I am now here, what say you to me?) *I am a symple poore wretche, and worthe no mans money in the worlde (saving theirs) not the tenth puny that they will give for me, and to burne me or to destroye me, cannot so greatly profyt them. For when I am dead, the sunne, and the moone, the starres, and the element, water and fyre, ye and also stones shall defende this cause againste them rather than the verity shall perish.*"

ambassadors of foreign potentates were always dispatched by his discretion, to whom they had always access for their dispatch. His house was also always resorted and furnished with noblemen, gentlemen, and other persons, with going and coming in and out, feasting and banqueting all ambassadors diverse times, and other strangers right nobly.

And when it pleased the king's majesty, for his recreation, to repair unto the cardinal's house, as he did divers times in the year, at which time there wanted no preparations, or goodly furniture, with viands of the finest sort that might be provided for money or friendship. Such pleasures were then devised for the king's comfort and consolation, as might be invented, or by man's wit imagined. The banquets were set forth, with masks and mummeries, in so gorgeous a sort, and costly manner, that it was a heaven to behold. There wanted no dames, or damsels, meet or apt to dance with the maskers, or to garnish the place for the time, with other goodly disports. Then was there all kind of music and harmony set forth, with excellent voices both of men and children. I have seen the king suddenly come in thither in a mask, with a dozen of other maskers, all in garments like shepherds, made of fine cloth of gold and fine crimson satin paned, and caps of the same,

with visors of good proportion of visnomy; their hairs, and beards, either of fine gold wire, or else of silver, and some being of black silk; having sixteen torch bearers, besides their drums, and other persons attending upon them, with visors, and clothed all in satin, of the same colours. And at his coming, and before he came into the hall, ye shall understand, that he came by water to the water gate, without any noise; where, against his coming, were laid charged many chambers [1], and at his landing they were all shot off, which made such a rumble in the air, that it was like thunder. It made all the noblemen, ladies, and gentlewomen, to muse what it should mean coming so suddenly, they sitting quietly at a solemn banquet; under this sort: First, ye shall perceive that the tables were set in the chamber of presence, banquet-wise covered, my Lord Cardinal sitting under the cloth of estate, and there having his service all alone; and then was there set a lady and a nobleman, or a gentleman and gentlewoman, throughout all the tables in the chamber on the one side, which were made and joined as it were

[1] *Chambers*, short guns, or cannon, standing upon their breeching without carriages, chiefly used for festive occasions; and having their name most probably from being little more than *chambers* for powder. It was by the discharge of these *chambers* in the play of Henry VIIIth. that the Globe Theatre was burnt in 1613. Shakspeare followed pretty closely the narrative of Cavendish.

but one table. All which order and device was done and devised by the Lord Sands, Lord Chamberlain to the king: and also by Sir Henry Guilford, Comptroller to the king. Then immediately after this great shot of guns, the cardinal desired the Lord Chamberlain, and Comptroller, to look what this sudden shot should mean, as though he knew nothing of the matter. They thereupon looking out of the windows into Thames, returned again, and showed him, that it seemed to them there should be some noblemen and strangers arrived at his bridge, as ambassadors from some foreign prince. With that, quoth the cardinal, "I shall desire you, because ye can speak French, to take the pains to go down into the hall to encounter and to receive them, according to their estates, and to conduct them into this chamber, where they shall see us, and all these noble personages sitting merrily at our banquet, desiring them to sit down with us, and to take part of our fare and pastime. Then [they] went incontinent down into the hall, where they received them with twenty new torches, and conveyed them up into the chamber, with such a number of drums and fifes as I have seldom seen together, at one time in any masque. At their arrival into the chamber, two and two together, they went directly before the cardinal where he sat, sa-

luting him very reverently; to whom the Lord Chamberlain for them said: "Sir, for as much as they be strangers, and can speak no English, they have desired me to declare unto your Grace thus: they, having understanding of this your triumphant banquet, where was assembled such a number of excellent fair dames, could do no less, under the supportation of your good grace, but to repair hither to view as well their incomparable beauty, as for to accompany them at mumchance[2], and then after to dance with them, and so to have of them acquaintance. And, sir, they furthermore require of your Grace licence to accomplish the cause of their repair." To whom the cardinal answered, that he was very well contented they should so do. Then the maskers went first and saluted all the dames as they sat, and then returned to the most worthiest, and there opened a cup full of gold, with crowns, and other pieces of coin, to whom they set divers pieces to cast at. Thus in this manner perusing all the ladies and gentlewomen, and to some they lost, and of some they won. And thus done, they returned unto the cardinal, with great reverence, pouring down all the crowns in the cup, which was about two hundred

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[2] *Mumchance* appears to have been a game played with *dice*, at which silence was to be observed.

crowns. "At all," quoth the cardinal, and so cast the dice, and won them all at a cast; whereat was great joy made. Then quoth the cardinal to my Lord Chamberlain, "I pray you," quoth he, show them that it seemeth me that there should be among them some noble man, whom I suppose to be much more worthy of honour to sit and occupy this room and place than I; to whom I would most gladly, if I knew him, surrender my place according to my duty." Then spake my Lord Chamberlain unto them in French, declaring my Lord Cardinal's mind, and they rounding[3] him again in the ear, my Lord Chamberlain said to my Lord Cardinal, "Sir, they confess," quoth he, "that among them there is such a noble personage, whom, if your Grace can appoint him from the other, he is contented to disclose himself, and to accept your place most worthily." With that the cardinal, taking a good advisement among them, at the last, quoth he, "Me seemeth the gentleman with the black beard should be even he." And with that he arose out of his chair, and offered the same to the gentleman in the black beard, with his cap in his hand. The person to whom he offered then his chair was Sir Edward Neville, a comely knight of a goodly

[3] *Rounding*, sometimes spelt *rowning*, i.e. *whispering*.

personage, that much more resembled the king's person in that mask, than any other. The king, hearing and perceiving the cardinal so deceived in his estimation and choice, could not forbear laughing; but plucked down his visor, and Master Neville's also, and dashed out with such a pleasant countenance and cheer, that all noble estates there assembled, seeing the king to be there amongst them, rejoiced very much. The cardinal eftsoons desired his highness to take the place of estate, to whom the king answered, that he would go first and shift his apparel; and so departed, and went straight into my lord's bedchamber, where was a great fire made and prepared for him; and there new apparelled him with rich and princely garments. And in the time of the king's absence, the dishes of the banquet were clean taken up, and the tables spread again with new and sweet perfumed cloths; every man sitting still until the king and his maskers came in among them again, every man being newly apparelled. Then the king took his seat under the cloth of estate, commanding no man to remove, but sit still, as they did before. Then in came a new banquet before the king's majesty, and to all the rest through the tables, wherein, I suppose, were served two hundred dishes or above, of wondrous costly meats and devices, subtilly devised. Thus

passed they forth the whole night with banqueting, dancing, and other triumphant devices, to the great comfort of the king, and pleasant regard of the nobility there assembled.

All this matter I have declared at large, because ye shall understand what joy and delight the cardinal had to see his prince and sovereign lord in his house so nobly entertained and pleased, which was always his only study, to devise things to his comfort, not passing of the charges or expenses. It delighted him so much, to have the king's pleasant princely presence, that no thing was to him more delectable than to cheer his sovereign lord, to whom he owed so much obedience and loyalty; as reason required no less, all things well considered.

Thus passed the cardinal his life and time, from day to day, and year to year, in such great wealth, joy, and triumph, and glory, having always on his side the king's especial favour; until Fortune, of whose favour no man is longer assured than she is disposed, began to wax something wroth with his prosperous estate, [and] thought she would devise a mean to abate his high port; wherefore she procured Venus, the insatiate goddess, to be her instrument. To work her purpose, she brought the king in love with a gentlewoman, that, after she perceived and felt the king's goodwill towards her, and how diligent

he was both to please her, and to grant all her requests, she wrought the cardinal much displeasure; as hereafter shall be more at large declared. This gentlewoman, the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, being at that time but only a bachelor knight, the which after, for the love of his daughter, was promoted to higher dignities. He bare at divers several times for the most part all the rooms of estimation in the king's house; as Comptroller, Treasurer, Vice Chamberlain, and Lord Chamberlain. Then was he made Viscount Rochford: and at the last created Earl of Wiltshire, and Knight of the noble Order of the Garter; and, for his more increase of gain and honour, he was made Lord Privy Seal, and most chiefest of the king's privy council. Continuing therein until his son and daughter did incur the king's indignation and displeasure. The king fantasied so much his daughter Anne, that almost all things began to grow out of frame and good order [4].

To tell you how the king's love began to take place, and what followed thereof, I will even as

[4] "The king gave good testymony of his love to this lady, creating her in one day Marquesse of Pembroke (that I may use the words of the patent) for the nobylity of her stocke, excellency of her virtues and conditions, and other shewes of honesty and goodnesse worthyly to bee commended in her). And giving her a patent for a 1000 pounds yerely to maynteyne this honor with. She was the first woman, I read, to have honor given to her and her heyres male." *Sir Roger Twysden's MS. note.*

much as in me lieth, declare [unto] you. This gentlewoman, Mistress Anne Boleyn, being very young[5] was sent into the realm of France, and there made one of the French[6] queen's women, continuing there until the French queen died. And then was she sent for home again; and being again with her father, he made such means that she was admitted to be one of Queen Katharine's maids, among whom, for her excellent gesture and behaviour, [she] did excel all other; in so much, as the king began to kindle the brand of amours; which was not known to any person, ne scantly to her own person.

In so much [as] my Lord Percy, the son and heir of the Earl of Northumberland, then

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[5] "Not above seven yeares of age, Anno 1514." as appears from a fragment of this life with notes by Sir Roger Twysden, of which a few copies were printed in 1808, by Mr. Triphook, from whence also the following note is copied.

[6] "It should seeme by some that she served three in France successively; Mary of England maryed to Lewis the twelfth, an. 1514, with whome she went out of England, but Lewis dying the first of January following, and that Queene (being) to returne home, sooner than either Sir Thomas Bullen or some other of her frendes liked she should, she was preferred to Claude, daughter to Lewis XII. and wife to Francis I. then Queene (it is likely upon the commendation of Mary the Dowager), who not long after dying, an. 1524, not yet weary of France she went to live with Marguerite, Dutchess of Alançon and Berry, a Lady much commended for her favor towards good letters, but never enough for the Protestant religion then in the infancy—from her, if I am not deceived, she first learnt the grounds of the Protestant religion; so that England may seem to owe some part of her happyness derived from that Lady."

attended upon the Lord Cardinal, and was also his servitor; and when it chanced the Lord Cardinal at any time to repair to the court, the Lord Percy would then resort for his pastime unto the queen's chamber, and there would fall in dalliance among the queen's maidens, being at the last more conversant with Mistress Anne Boleyn than with any other; so that there grew such a secret love between them that, at length, they were insured together[7], intending to marry. The which thing came to the king's knowledge, who was then much offended. Wherefore he could hide no longer his secret affection, but revealed his secret intendment unto my Lord Cardinal in that behalf; and consulted with him to infringe the precontract between them: insomuch, that after my Lord Cardinal was departed from the court, and returned home to his place at Westminster, not forgetting the king's request and counsel, being in his gallery, called there before him the said Lord Percy unto his presence, and before us his servants of his chamber, saying thus unto him. "I marvel not

[7] This expression, unless the author himself were misinformed, must not be extended to imply an absolute precontract. For Lord Herbert in his Life of Henry VIII. p. 418, has published an original letter from this nobleman, then Earl of Northumberland, written in the year 1536, a short time before Q. Anne's suffering, in which he denies any such contract, in the most solemn terms. This letter will be found in the Appendix. *W.*

a little," quoth he, "of thy peevish folly, that thou wouldest tangle and ensure thyself with a foolish girl yonder in the court, I mean Anne Boleyn. Dost thou not consider the estate that God hath called thee unto in this world? For after the death of thy noble father, thou art most like to inherit and possess one of the most worthiest earldoms of this realm. Therefore it had been most meet, and convenient for thee, to have sued for the consent of thy father in that behalf, and to have also made the king's highness privy thereto; requiring therein his princely favour, submitting all thy whole proceeding in all such matters unto his highness, who would not only accept thankfully your submission, but would, I assure thee, provide so for your purpose therein, that he would advance you much more nobly, and have matched you according to your estate and honour, whereby ye might have grown so by your wisdom and honourable behaviour into the king's high estimation, that it should have been much to your increase of honour. But now behold what ye have done through your wilfulness. Ye have not only offended your natural father, but also your most gracious sovereign lord, and matched yourself with one, such as neither the king, ne yet your father will be agreeable with the matter. And hereof I put you out of doubt, that I will send for your father, and at his coming, he

shall either break this unadvised contract, or else disinherit thee for ever. The king's majesty himself will complain to thy father on thee, and require no less at his hand than I have said; whose highness intended to have preferred [Anne Boleyn] unto another person, with whom the king hath travelled already, and being almost at a point with the same person, although she knoweth it not, yet hath the king, most like a politic and prudent prince, conveyed the matter in such sort, that she, upon the king's motion, will be (I doubt not) right glad and agreeable to the same." "Sir," (quoth the Lord Percy, all weeping), "I knew nothing of the king's pleasure therein, for whose displeasure I am very sorry. I considered that I was of good years, and thought myself sufficient to provide me of a convenient wife, whereas my fancy served me best, not doubting but that my lord my father would have been right well persuaded. And though she be a simple maid, and having but a knight to her father, yet is she descended of right noble parentage. As by her mother she is nigh of the Norfolk blood: and of her father's side lineally descended of the Earl of Ormond, he being one of the earl's heirs general[8]. Why

[8] Geffrey Bollen, a gentleman of Norfolk, Mayor of London, 1457, marryed one of the daughters and heyres of Thomas Lord Hoo and Hastings, by whome he had William Bolleyn (knight of

should I then, sir, be any thing scrupulous to match with her, whose estate of descent is equivalent with mine when I shall be in most dignity? Therefore I most humbly require your grace of your especial favour herein; and also to entreat the king's most royal majesty most lowly on my behalf for his princely benevolence in this matter, the which I cannot deny or forsake." "Lo, sirs," quoth the cardinal, "ye may see what conformity and wisdom is in this wilful boy's head. I thought that when thou heardest me declare the king's intended pleasure and travail herein, thou wouldest have relented and wholly submitted thyself, and all thy wilful and unadvised fact, to the king's royal will and prudent pleasure, to be fully disposed and ordered by his grace's disposition, as his highness should seem good." "Sir, so I would," quoth the Lord Percy, "but in this matter I have gone so far, before many so worthy witnesses, that I know not how to avoid my self nor to discharge my conscience." "Why, thinkest thou," quoth the cardinal, "that the king and I know not what we have to do in as weighty a matter as this? Yes

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the Bath at Richard 3ds coronation) who marryed the Erl of Ormonds daughter (he though of Ireland, sate in the English parliament above English Barons), by her he had Thomas Bollen, whome the Erle of Surrey after Duke of Norfolk chose for his son-in-law; of which marriage this Anne was born, 1507.

Note from Sir R. Twysden's MS. Frag.

(quoth he), I warrant thee. Howbeit I can see in thee no submission to the purpose." "Forsooth, my Lord," quoth the Lord Percy, "if it please your grace, I will submit myself wholly unto the king's majesty and [your] grace in this matter, my conscience being discharged of the weighty burthen of my precontract." "Well then," quoth the cardinal, "I will send for your father out of the north parts, and he and we shall take such order for the avoiding of this thy hasty folly as shall be by the king thought most expedient. And in the mean season I charge thee, and in the king's name command thee, that thou presume not once to resort into her company, as thou intendest to avoid the king's high indignation." And this said he rose up and went into his chamber.

Then was the Earl of Northumberland sent for in all haste, in the king's name, who upon knowledge of the king's pleasure made quick speed to the court. And at his first coming out of the north he made his first repair unto my Lord Cardinal, at whose mouth he was advertised of the cause of his hasty sending for; being in my Lord Cardinal's gallery with him in secret communication a long while. And after their long talk my Lord Cardinal called for a cup of wine, and drinking together they brake up, and so departed the earl, upon whom we were com-

manded to wait to convey him to his servants. And in his going away, when he came to the gallery's end, he sat him down upon a form that stood there for the waiters some time to take their ease. And being there set called his son the Lord Percy unto him, and said in our presence thus in effect. "Son," quoth he, "thou hast always been a proud, presumptuous, disdainful, and a very unthrift waster, and even so hast thou now declared thyself. Therefore what joy, what comfort, what pleasure or solace should I conceive in thee, that thus without discretion and advisement hast misused thyself, having no manner of regard to me thy natural father, ne in especial unto thy sovereign lord, to whom all honest and loyal subjects bear faithful and humble obedience; ne yet to the wealth of thine own estate, but hast so unadvisedly ensured thyself to her, for whom thou hast purchased thee the king's displeasure, intolerable for any subject to sustain! But that his grace of his mere wisdom doth consider the lightness of thy head, and wilful qualities of thy person, his displeasure and indignation were sufficient to cast me and all my posterity into utter subversion and dissolution: but he being my especial and singular good lord and favourable prince, and my Lord Cardinal my good lord hath and doth clearly excuse me in thy lewd fact, and doth rather

lament thy lightness than malign the same; and hath devised an order to be taken for thee; to whom both thou and I be more bound than we be able well to consider. I pray to God that this may be to thee a sufficient monition and warning to use thyself more wittier hereafter; for thus I assure thee, if thou dost not amend thy prodigality, thou wilt be the last earl of our house. For of thy natural inclination thou art disposed to be wasteful prodigal, and to consume all that thy progenitors have with great travail gathered together and kept with honour. But having the king's majesty my singular good and gracious lord, I intend (God willing) so to dispose my succession), that ye shall consume thereof but a little. For I do not purpose, I assure thee, to make thee mine heir; for, praises be to God, I have more choice of boys who, I trust, will prove themselves much better, and use them more like unto nobility, among whom I will choose and take the best and most likeliest to succeed me. Now, masters and good gentlemen," (quoth he unto us), "it may be your chances hereafter, when I am dead, to see the proof of these things that I have spoken to my son prove as true as I have spoken them. Yet in the mean season I desire you all to be his friends, and to tell him his fault when he doth amiss, wherein ye shall show yourselves to

be much his friends." And with that he took his leave of us. And said to his son thus: "Go your ways, and attend upon my lord's grace your master, and see that you do your duty." And so departed, and went his way down through the hall into his barge.

Then after long debating and consultation upon the Lord Percy's assurance, it was devised that the same should be infringed and dissolved, and that the Lord Percy should marry with one of the Earl of Shrewsbury's daughters[9]; (as he did after): by means whereof the former contract was clearly undone. Wherewith Mis-

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[9] This was the Lady Mary Talbot, daughter to George Earl of Shrewsbury, by whom he had no issue. "Though little ceremony, and probably as little time, was used in patching up these nuptials. As might be expected, they were most unhappy. So we are told, on the authority of the earl's own letters, in the very laboured account of the Percy family given in Collin's Peerage, ed. 1779, perhaps the best piece of family history in our language. "Henry, the unthrifty Earl of Northumberland, died at Hackney in the prime of life, about ten or twelve years after he had consented to this marriage. Of this term but a very small portion was spent in company of his lady. He lived long enough, however, not only to witness the destruction of his own happiness, but the sad termination of Anne Boleyn's life. In the admirable account of the Percy family, referred to above, no mention is made of the lady who, on these terms, consented to become Countess of Northumberland, in her long widowhood. She sequestered herself from the world at Wormhill, on the banks of the Derbyshire Wye, amidst some of the sublimest scenery of the Peak. Wormhill is about eighteen miles from Sheffield, where Lady Northumberland's father, brother, and nephew, successively Earls of Shrewsbury, spent the greater part of their lives."

Who wrote Cavendish's Life of Wolsey? p. 28-9.

tress Anne Boleyn was greatly offended, saying, that if it lay ever in her power, she would work the cardinal as much displeasure; as she did in deed after. And yet was he nothing to blame, for he practised nothing in that matter, but it was the king's only device. And even as my Lord Percy was commanded to avoid her company, even so was she commanded to avoid the court, and sent home again to her father for a season; whereat she smoked: for all this while she knew nothing of the king's intended purpose.

But ye may see when fortune beginneth to lower, how she can compass a matter to work displeasure by a far fetch. For now, mark, good reader, the grudge, how it began, that in process [of time] burst out to the utter undoing of the cardinal. O Lord, what a God art thou! that workest thy secrets so wonderfully, which be not perceived until they be brought to pass and finished. Mark this history following, good reader, and note every circumstance, and thou shalt espy at thine eye the wonderful work of God, against such persons as forgetteth God and his great benefits! Mark, I say, mark them well!

After that all these troublesome matters of my Lord Percy's were brought to a good stay, and all things finished that were before devised,

Mistress Anne Boleyn was revoked unto the court[1], where she flourished after in great estimation and favour; having always a privy indignation unto the cardinal, for breaking off the precontract made between my Lord Percy and her, supposing that it had been his own device and will, and none other, not yet being privy to the king's secret mind, although that he had a great affection unto her. Howbeit, after she knew the king's pleasure, and the great love that he bare her in the bottom of his stomach, then she began to look very hault and stout, having all manner of jewels, or rich apparel, that might be gotten with money. It was therefore judged by-and-bye through all the court of every man, that she being in such favour, might work masteries with the king, and obtain any suit of him for her friend.

And all this while, she being in this estimation in all places, it is no doubt but good Queen Katharine, having this gentlewoman daily attend-

[1] The charms of Anne had also attracted Sir Thomas Wyatt, and some of his poems evidently allude to his passion; he was afterwards closely questioned as to the nature of his intimacy with her. A very curious narrative of some particulars relating to this attachment, from the pen of a descendant of the poet, has fortunately been preserved among the MS. collections of Lewis the antiquary. A few copies of this memoir were printed in 1817, but as it has still almost the rarity of a manuscript, I shall enrich my Appendix by reprinting it as a most curious and valuable document relating to this eventful period of our history.

ing upon her, both heard by report, and perceived before her eyes, the matter how it framed against her (good lady), although she showed ne to Mistress Anne, ne unto the king, any spark or kind of grudge or displeasure; but took and accepted all things in good part, and with wisdom and great patience dissimuled the same, having Mistress Anne in more estimation for the king's sake than she had before, declaring herself thereby to be a perfect Griselda, as her patient acts shall hereafter more evidently to all men be declared[2].

The king waxed so far in amours with this gentlewoman that he knew not how much he might advance her. This perceiving, the great lords of the council, bearing a secret grudge against the cardinal, because that they could not rule in the scene well for him as they would,

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[2] In the very interesting memoir of Anne Boleyn, by George Wyat, which the reader will find in the Appendix: the queen's prudent conduct is mentioned, and the following anecdote related: 'These things being well perceived of the queen, which she knew well to frame and work her advantage of, and therefore the oftener had her (i. e. Anne Boleyn) at cards with her, the rather also that the king might have the less her company, and the lady the more excuse to be from him, also she esteem herself the kindlier used, and yet withal the more to give the king occasion to see the nail upon her finger. And in this entertainment, of time they had a certain game, that I cannot name, then frequented, wherein dealing, the king and queen meeting they stopt; and the young lady's hap was, much to stop at a king. Which the queen noting, said to her, playfully, *My Lady Anne, you have good hap to stop at a king, but you are like others, you will have all or none.*'

who kept them low, and ruled them as well as other mean subjects, whereat they caught an occasion to invent a mean to bring him out of the king's high favour, and them into more authority of rule and civil governance. After long and secret consultation amongst themselves, how to bring their malice to effect against the cardinal, they knew right well that it was very difficile for them to do any thing directly of themselves. Wherefore, they perceiving the great affection that the king bare lovingly unto Mistress Anne Boleyn, fantasying in their heads that she should be for them a sufficient and an apt instrument to bring their malicious purpose to pass, with her they often consulted in this matter. And she having both a very good wit, and also an inward desire to be revenged of the cardinal[3], was as agreeable to their requests as

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[3] Yet nothing can be more strong than her expressions of gratitude and affection to the cardinal at this period when his assistance was of importance to her views. Two letters of hers to the cardinal have been published by Burnet, I. 55, in which she says: "all the days of my life I am most bound of all creatures next the king's grace to love and serve your grace; of the which I beseech you never to doubt that ever I shall vary from this thought as long as any breath is in my body. And as touching your grace's trouble with the sweat, I thank our Lord that them that I desired and prayed for are scaped, and that is the king and you. And as for the coming of the Legate, I desire that much, and if it be God's pleasure, I pray him to send this matter shortly to a good end, and then I trust, my lord, to recompense part of your great pains." In another letter she says: "I do know the great pains

they were themselves. Wherefore there was no more to do but only to imagine some presented circumstances to induce their malicious accusations. Insomuch that there was imagined and invented among them diverse imaginations and subtle devices, how this matter should be brought about. The enterprise thereof was so dangerous, that though they would fain have often attempted the matter with the king, yet they durst not; for they knew the great loving affection and especial favour that the king bare to the cardinal, and also they feared the wonderous wit of the cardinal. For this they understood very well, that if their matter that they should propone against him were not grounded upon a just and an urgent cause, the king's favour being such towards him, and his wit such, that he would with policy vanquish all their pur-

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and troubles that you have taken for me, both day and night, is never like to be recompensed on my part, but al only in loving you next the king's grace above all creatures living." In a third letter, published by Fiddes, "I am bound in the mean time to owe you my service: and then look what thing in the world I can imagine to do you pleasure in, you shall find me the gladdest woman in the world to do it, and next unto the king's grace, of one thing I make you full promise to be assured to have it, and that is my hearty love unfeignedly during my life." It should seem, therefore, unless we suppose her to have been insincere in her expression of gratitude, that her animosity did not proceed from any displeasure at the rupture of the affair with Lord Percy; but from subsequent causes. She was probably worked upon by the cardinal's enemies in the court.

pose and travail, and then lye in a-wait to work them an utter destruction and subversion. Wherefore they were compelled, all things considered, to forbear their enterprise until they might espy a more convenient time and occasion.

And yet the cardinal, espying the great zeal that the king had conceived in this gentlewoman, ordered himself to please as well the king as her, dissimuling the matter that lay hid in his breast, and prepared great banquets and solemn feasts to entertain them both at his own house. And thus the world began to grow into wonderful inventions, not heard of before in this realm. The love between the king and this gorgeous lady grew to such a perfection, that divers imaginations were imagined, whereof I leave to speak until I come to the place where I may have more occasion.

Then began a certain grudge to arise between the French king and the Duke of Bourbon, in so much as the Duke, being vassal to the house of France, was constrained for the safeguard of his person to flee his dominions, and to forsake his territory and country, doubting the king's great malice and indignation. The cardinal, having thereof intelligence, compassed in his head, that if the king our sovereign lord

(having an occasion of wars with the realm of France), might retain the duke to be his general in the wars there: in as much as the duke was fled unto the emperor, to invite him also, to stir wars against the French king. The cardinal having all this imagination in his head thought it good to move the king in this matter. And after the king was once advertised hereof, and conceived the cardinal's imagination and invention, he dreamed of this matter more and more, until at the last it came in question among the council in consultation, so that it was there finally concluded that an embassy should be sent to the emperor about this matter; with whom it was concluded that the king and the emperor should join in these wars against the French king, and that the Duke of Bourbon should be our sovereign lord's champion and general in the field; who had appointed him a great number of good soldiers over and besides the emperor's army, which was not small, and led by one of his own noblemen; and also that the king should pay the duke his wages, and his retinue monthly. In so much as Sir John Russel, (who was after Earl of Bedford), lay continually beyond the seas in a secret place, assigned both for to receive the king's money and to pay the same monthly to the duke. So that the duke began fierce war

with the French king in his own territory and dukedom, which the French king had confiscated and seized into his hands: yet not known to the duke's enemies that he had any aid of the king our sovereign lord. And thus he wrought the French king much trouble and displeasure; in so much as the French king was compelled of fine force to put harness on his back, and to prepare a puissant army royal, and in his own person to advance to defend and resist the duke's power and malice. The duke having understanding of the king's advancing was compelled of force to take Pavia, a strong town in Italy, with his host, for their security; where as the king besieged him, and encamped him wondrous strongly, intending to enclose the Duke within this town, that he should not issue. Yet notwithstanding the duke would and did many times issue and skirmish with the king's army.

Now let us leave the king in his camp before Pavia, and return again to the Lord Cardinal, who seemed to be more French than Imperial. But how it came to pass I cannot declare [unto] you: but the [French] king lying in his camp, sent secretly into England a privy person, a very witty man, to entreat of a peace between him and the king our sovereign lord, whose name was

John Joachin[4]; he was kept as secret as might be, that no man had intelligence of his repair; for he was no Frenchman, but an Italian born, a man before of no estimation in France, or known to be in favour with his master, but to be a merchant, and for his subtle wit elected to entreat of such affairs as the king had com-

[4] The name of this person was Giovanni Joacchino Passano, a Genoese, he was afterwards called Seigneur de Vaux. The emperor, it appears, was informed of his being in England, and for what purpose. The cardinal stated that Joacchino came over as a merchant, and that as soon as he discovered himself to be sent by the Lady Regent of France, he had made de Praet (the emperor's ambassador) privy thereto, and likewise of the answer given to her proposals. The air of mystery which attached to this mission naturally created suspicion, and after a few months, De Praet, in his letters to the emperor, and to Margaret, the governess of the Netherlands, expressed his apprehension that all was not right, and the reasons for his surmises. His letters were intercepted by the cardinal, and read before the council. Charles and Margaret complained of this insult, and the cardinal explained as well as he could. At the same time protesting against the misrepresentation of De Praet, and assuring them that nothing could be further from his wish than that any disunion should arise between the king his master and the emperor; and notwithstanding the suspicious aspect of this transaction, his dispatches both immediately before and after this fracas strongly corroborate his assertions. Wolsey suspected that the Pope was inclined toward the cause of Francis, and reminded him, through the Bishop of Bath, of his obligations to Henry and Charles. The Pope had already taken the alarm, and had made terms with the French king, but had industriously concealed it from Wolsey, and at length urged in his excuse that he had no alternative. Joacchino was again in England upon a different mission, and was an eyewitness of the melancholy condition of the cardinal when his fortunes were reversed. He sympathised with him, and interested himself for him with Francis and the Queen Dowager, as appears by his letters published in *Legrand, Histoire du Divorce de Henri VIII.*

manded him by embassy. This Joachin after his arrival here in England was secretly conveyed unto the king's manor of Richmond, and there remained until Whitsuntide, at which time the cardinal resorted thither, and kept there the said feast very solemnly. In which season my lord caused this Joachin divers times to dine with him, whose talk and behaviour seemed to be witty, sober, and wondrous discreet. [He] continued in England long after, until he had (as it seemed), brought his purposed embassy to pass which he had in commission. For after this there was sent out immediately a restraint unto Sir John Russell, into those parts where he made his abiding beyond the seas, that he should retain and keep back that month's wages still in his hands, which should have been paid unto the Duke of Bourbon, until the king's pleasure were to him further known); for want of which money at the day appointed of payment, the duke and his retinue were greatly dismayed and sore disappointed; and when they saw that their money was not brought unto them as it was wont to be. And being in so dangerous a case for want of victuals, which were wondrous scant and dear, there were many imaginations what should be the cause of the let thereof. Some said this, and some said they wist never what; so that they mistrusted no thing less than the very cause

thereof. In so much at the last, what for want of victual and other necessaries which could not be gotten within the town, the captains and soldiers began to grudge and mutter; and at the last, for lack of victuals, were like all to perish. They being in this extremity came before the Duke of Bourbon their captain, and said, "Sir, we must be of very force and necessity compelled to yield us in to the danger of our enemies; and better it were for us so to do than here to starve like dogs." When the duke heard the lamentations, and understood the extremities that they were brought unto for lack of money, he said again unto them, "Sirs," quoth he, "ye are both valiant men and of noble courage, who have served here under me right worthily; and for your necessity, whereof I am participant, I do not a little lament. (Howbeit) I shall desire you, as ye are noble in hearts and courage, so to take patience for a day or twain: and if succour come not then from the King of England, as I doubt nothing that he will deceive us, I will well agree that we shall all put ourselves and all our lives unto the mercy of our enemies;" wherewith they were all agreeable. And expecting the coming of the king's money the space of three days, (the which days passed), the duke seeing no remedy called his noble men, and captains, and soldiers before him, and all

weeping said, "O ye noble captains and valiant men, my gentle companions, I see no remedy in this necessity but either we must yield us unto our enemies, or else famish. And to yield the town and ourselves, I know not the mercy of our enemies. As for my part I pass not of their cruelties, for I know very well I shall suffer most cruel death if I come once into their hands. It is not for myself therefore that I do lament, but it is for your sakes; it is for your lives; it is also for the safeguard of your persons. For so that ye might escape the danger of your enemies' hands, I would most gladly suffer death. Therefore, good companions and noble soldiers, I shall require you all, considering the dangerous misery and calamity that we stand in at this present, to sell our lives most dearly rather than to be murdered like beasts. If ye will follow my counsel we will take upon us this night to give our enemies an assault in their camp, and by that means we may either escape, or else give them an overthrow. And thus it were better to die in the field like men, than to live in captivity and misery as prisoners. To the which they all agreed. "Then," quoth the duke, "Ye perceive that our enemy hath encamped us with a strong camp, and that there is no way to enter but one, which is so planted with great ordnance, and force of men, that it is not possible to enter

that way to fight with our enemies without great danger. And also, ye see that now of late they have had small doubt of us, insomuch as they have kept but slender watch. Therefore my policy and device shall be this: That about the dead time of the night, when our enemies be most quiet at rest, there shall issue from us a number of the most deliverest soldiers to assault their camp; who shall give the assault right secretly, even directly against the entry of the camp, which is almost invincible. Your fierce and sharp assault shall be to them in the camp so doubtful, that they shall be compelled to turn the strength of their entry that lyeth over against your assault, to beat you from the assault. Then will I issue out at the postern, and come to the place of their strength newly turned, and there, or they be ware, will I enter and fight with them at the same place where their guns and strength lay before, and so come to the rescue of you of the assault, and winning their ordnance which they have turned, beat them with their own pieces. And then we joining together in the field, I trust we shall have a fair hand of them. This device pleased them wondrous well. Then prepared they all that day for the purposed device, and kept them secret and close, without any noise or shot of piece within the town, which gave their enemies

the less fear of any trouble that night, but every man went to their rest within their tents and lodgings quietly, nothing mistrusting that after ensued.

Then when all the king's host was at rest, the assailants issued out of the town without any noise, according to the former appointment, and gave a fierce and cruel assault at the place appointed; that they within the camp had as much to do to defend it as was possible: and even as the duke had before declared to his soldiers, they within were compelled to turn their shot that lay at the entry against the assailants. With that issued the duke, and with him about fifteen or sixteen thousand men or more, and secretly in the night, his enemies being not privy of his coming until he was entered the field. And at his first entry he was master of all the ordnance that lay there, and slew the gunners; and charged the said pieces and bent them against his enemies, [of] whom he slew wondrously a great number. He cut down tents and pavilions, and murdered them within them, or they wist of [his] coming, suspecting nothing less than the duke's entry; so that he won the field or ever the king could arise to the rescue: who was taken in his lodging or ever he was armed. And when the duke had obtained the field, and the French king taken prisoner, his

men slain, and his tents robbed and spoiled, which were wondrous rich. And in the spoil, searching of the king's treasure in his coffers there was found among them the league newly concluded between the King of England and the French king, under the great seal of England; which once by [the duke] perceived, he began to smell the impediment of his money which should have come to him from the king. Having upon due search of this matter further intelligence that all this matter and his utter undoing was concluded and devised by the Cardinal of England, the duke conceived such an indignation hereupon against the cardinal, that after he had established all things there in good order and security, he went incontinent unto Rome, intending there to sack the town, and to have taken the pope prisoner: where, at his first assault of the walls, he was the first man that was there slain. Yet, notwithstanding, his captains continued there the assault, and in conclusion won the town, and the pope fled unto Castle Angell, where he continued long after in great calamity.

I have written thus this history at large because it was thought that the cardinal gave the chief occasion of all this mischief[6]. Ye may per-

[5] Dr. Fiddes has justly observed, that Cavendish, in his account of these transactions, asserted some things not only without sufficient authority, but contrary to the evidence of documents which

ceive what thing soever a man purposeth, be he prince or prelate, yet notwithstanding God disposeth all things at his will and pleasure. Wherefore it is great folly for any wise man to take any weighty enterprise of himself, trusting altogether to his own wit, not calling for grace to assist him in all his proceedings.

I have known and seen in my days that princes and great men [who] would either assemble at any parliament, or in any other great business, first would most reverently call to God for his gracious assistance therein. And now I see the contrary. Wherefore me seems that they trust more in their own wisdoms and imaginations than they do to God's help and disposition; and therefore often they speed

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he has adduced. By these it appears, that if there was any delay in the supplies promised on the part of England it was purely accidental; and that the remissness of the emperor to furnish his quota was the principal cause of the extremity to which the Duke of Bourbon's army was reduced. Cavendish is also wrong in his relation of the siege of Pavia and its consequences. The fact is, that the Duke of Bourbon did not command in the town, but marched at the head of the imperial army to relieve it; and the garrison did not sally out until the two armies were engaged. The demonstrations of joy with which the victory at Pavia was received in London is also an argument for the sincerity of Henry and the cardinal at this time. The story of the treaty between Henry and Francis, said to have been found in the tent of the latter after the victory, is also a mere fiction. In the spirit of a true son of the Apostolic Church, Cavendish deprecates every thing which might tend to bring the Pope into jeopardy; and he cannot help bearing hard even upon the cardinal, because he was thought indirectly the cause 'of all this *mischief*.'

thereafter, and their matters take no success. Therefore not only in this history, but in divers others, ye may perceive right evident examples. And yet I see no man almost in authority or high estate regard or have any respect to the same; the greater is the pity, and the more to be lamented. Now will I desist from this matter and proceed to other.

Upon the taking of the French king, many consultations and divers opinions were then in argument among the council here in England. Whereof some held opinion that if the king would invade the realm of France in proper person, with a puissant army royal, he might easily conquer the same; considering that the French king, and the most part of the noble peers of France, were then prisoners with the emperor. Some again said how that were no honour for the king our sovereign lord, (the king being in captivity). But some said that the French king ought by the law of arms to be the king's prisoner, forasmuch as he was taken by the king's champion and general captain, the Duke of Bourbon, and not by the emperor. So that some moved the king to take war thereupon with the emperor, unless he would deliver the French king out of his hands and possession; with divers many other imaginations and inventions, even as men's fanta-

sies served them, too long here to be rehearsed: the which I leave to the writers of chronicles.

Thus continuing long in debating upon the matter, and every man in the court had their talk, as will without wit led their fantasies; at the last it was devised by means of divers embassies sent into England out of the realm of France, desiring the king our sovereign lord to take order with the emperor for the French king's deliverance, as his royal wisdom should seem good, wherein the cardinal bare the stroke; so that after long deliberation and advice taken in this matter, it was thought good by the cardinal that the emperor should redeliver out of his ward the French king, upon sufficient pledges. And that the king's two sons, that is to say, the Dolphin and the Duke of Orleans should be delivered in hostage for the king their father; which was in conclusion brought to pass.

After the king's deliverance out of the emperor's bondage, and his two sons received in hostage to the emperor's use, and the king our sovereign lord's security for the recompense of all such demands and restitutions as should be demanded of the French king, the cardinal, lamenting the French king's calamity, and the pope's great adversity, who yet remained in castle Angell, either as a prisoner, or else for

his defence and safeguard (I cannot tell whether), travailed all that he could[6] with the king and his council to take order as well for the delivery of the one as for the quietness of the other. At last, as ye have heard here before, how divers of the great estates and lords of the council lay in a-wait with my Lady Anne Boleyn, to espy a convenient time and occasion to take the cardinal in a brake[7]; [they] thought then, now is the time come that we have expected, supposing it best to cause him

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[6] These intrigues, in which the cardinal bore so large a part, did not redound to the glory of his country. Our merry neighbours even then had begun to make our diplomatic inferiority the subject of their sport and ridicule. William Tindall, in his *Practice of popish Prelates*, referring to these events, tells us, "The Frenchmen of late dayes made a play or a disguising at Paris, in which the emperour daunsed with the pope and the French king, and weried them, the king of England sitting on a bye bench, and looking on. And when it was asked, why he daunsed not, it was answered, that he sate there, *but to pay the minstrels their wages onely*: as who should say, wee paid for all mens dauncing." *Tindall's Works*, p. 375. A. D. 1572. *W.*

[7] A *brake* here seems to signify a *snare* or *trap*. The word has much puzzled the commentators on Shakspeare (See Measure for Measure, Act II. Sc. 1). One of its antient significations was a *sharp bit* to break horses with. A farrier's *brake* was a machine to confine or trammel the legs of unruly horses. An antient instrument of torture was also called *a brake*; and a thorny *brake* meant an intricate thicket of thorns. Shakerly Marmion, in his comedy of 'Holland's Leaguer', evidently uses the word in the same sense with Cavendish:

"—— Her I'll make
A stale to catch this courtier in *a brake*."

to take upon him the king's commission, and to travel beyond the seas in this matter, saying, to encourage him thereto, that it were more meet for his high discretion, wit, and authority, to compass and bring to pass a perfect peace among these great and most mighty princes of the world than any other within this realm or elsewhere. Their intent and purpose was only but to get him out of the king's daily presence, and to convey him out of the realm, that they might have convenient leisure and opportunity to adventure their long desired enterprise, and by the aid of their chief mistress, my Lady Anne, to deprave him so unto the king in his absence, that he should be rather in his high displeasure than in his accustomed favour, or at the least to be in less estimation with his majesty. Well! what will you have more? This matter was so handled that the cardinal was commanded to prepare himself to this journey; the which he was fain to take upon him; but whether it was with his good will or no, I am not well able to tell you. But this I know, that he made a short abode after the determined resolution thereof, but caused all things to be prepared onward toward his journey. And every one of his servants were appointed that should attend upon him in the same.

When all things were fully concluded, and

for this noble embassy provided and furnished, then was no lett, but advance forwards in the name of God. My Lord Cardinal had with him such of the lords and bishops and other worthy persons as were not privy of the conspiracy.

Then marched he forward out of his own house at Westminster, passing through all London[8], over London Bridge, having before him of gentlemen a great number, three in a rank, in black velvet livery coats, and the most part of them with great chains of gold about their necks. And all his yeomen, with noblemen's and gentlemen's servants following him in French tawny livery coats; having embroidered upon the backs and breasts of the said coats these letters: T. and C., under the cardinal's hat. His sumpter mules, which were twenty in number and more, with his carts and other carriages of his train, were passed on before, conducted and guarded with a great number of bows and spears. He rode like a cardinal, very sumptuously, on a mule trapped with crimson velvet upon velvet, and his stirrups of copper, and gilt; and his spare mule following him with like apparel.

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[8] The 3d Day of July (1526), the Cardinal of Yorke passed through the City of London, with many lords and gentlemen, to the number of twelve hundred horse——The 11th day of May he took shipping at Dover, and landed at Calais the same day.

Grafton, p. 1150.

CARDINAL WOLSEY AND HIS SUITE IN PROGRESS.

From a M.S. in the Collection of Francis Douce Esq.r F.S.A.

Published by Harding, Triphook & Lepard, 1807.

And before him he had his two great crosses of silver, two great pillars of silver, the great seal of England, his cardinal's hat, and a gentleman that carried his valaunce, otherwise called a cloakbag; which was made altogether of fine scarlet cloth, embroidered over and over with cloth of gold very richly, having in it a cloak of fine scarlet. Thus passed he through London, and all the way of his journey, having his harbingers passing before to provide lodging for his train.

The first journey he made to Dartford in Kent, unto Sir Richard Wiltshire's house, which is two miles beyond Dartford; where all his train were lodged that night, and in the country thereabouts. The next day he rode to Rochester, and lodged in the bishop's palace there; and the rest of his train in the city, and in Stroud on this side the bridge. The third day he rode from thence to Feversham, and there was lodged in the abbey, and his train in the town, and some in the country thereabouts. The fourth day he rode to Canterbury, where he was encountered with the worshipfullest of the town and country, and lodged in the abbey of Christchurch, in the prior's lodging. And all his train in the city, where he continued three or four days; in which time there was the [illegible] a fair in honour of the feast of

St. Thomas their patron. In which day of the said feast, within the abbey there was made a solemn procession; and my Lord Cardinal went presently in the same, apparelled in his legantine ornaments, with his Cardinal's hat on his head; who commanded the monks and all their quire to sing the litany after this sort, *Sancta Maria ora pro papa nostro Clemente;* and so perused the litany through, my Lord Cardinal kneeling at the quire door, at a form covered with carpets and cushions. The monks and all the quire standing all that while in the midst of the body of the church. At which time I saw the Lord Cardinal weep very tenderly; which was, as we supposed, for heaviness that the pope was at that present in such calamity and great danger of the Lance Knights[9].

The next day I was sent with letters from my Lord Cardinal unto Calais, by empost, insomuch as I was that same night at Calais. And at my landing I found standing upon the pier, without [the] Lantern Gate, all the council of the town, to whom I delivered and dispatched my message and letters or ever I entered the town; where I lay two days or my lord came thither; who arrived in the haven the second

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[9] *Lanzen-Knechts*, the name by which these bands of German mercenaries were then designated.

day after my coming, about eight of the clock in the morning: where he was received in procession with all the worshipfullest persons of the town in most solemn wise. And in the Lantern Gate was set for him a form, with carpets and cushions, whereat he kneeled and made his prayers before his entry any further in the town; and there he was censed with two great censers of silver, and sprinkled with holy water. That done he arose up and passed on, with all that assembly before him, singing, unto St. Mary's church, where he standing at the high altar, turning himself to the people, gave them his benediction and clean remission. And then they conducted him from thence unto a house called the Checker, where he lay and kept his house as long as he abode in the town; going immediately to his naked bed, because he was somewhat troubled with sickness in his passage upon the seas.

That night, unto this place of the Checker, resorted to him Mons. du Biez, captain of Boulogne, with a number of gallant gentlemen, who dined with him; and after some consultation with the cardinal, he with the rest of the gentlemen departed again to Boulogne. Thus the cardinal was daily visited with one or other of the French nobility.

Then when all his train and his carriages were

landed at Calais, and every thing prepared in a readiness for his journey, he called before him all his noblemen and gentlemen into his privy chamber; where they being assembled, [he] said unto them in this wise in effect: "I have called you hither to this intent, to declare unto you, that I considering the diligence that ye minister unto me, and the good will that I bear you again for the same, intending to remember your diligent service hereafter, in place where ye shall receive condign thanks and rewards. And also I would show you further what authority I have received directly from the king's highness; and to instruct you somewhat of the nature of the French men; and then to inform you what reverence ye shall use unto me for the high honour of the king's majesty, and also how ye shall entertain the French men, whensoever ye shall meet at any time. First, ye shall understand that the king's majesty, upon certain weighty considerations, hath for the more advancement of his royal dignity, assigned me in this journey to be his lieutenant-general; and what reverence belongeth to the same I will tell you. That for my part I must, by virtue of my commission of lieutenantship, assume and take upon me, in all honours and degrees, to have all such service and reverence as to his highness' presence is meet and

due: and nothing thereof to be neglected or omitted by me that to his royal estate is appurtenant. And for my part ye shall see me that I will not omit one jot thereof. Therefore, because ye shall not be ignorant in that behalf, is one of the special causes of this your assembly, willing and commanding you as ye entend my favour not to forget the same in time and place, but every of you do observe this information and instruction as ye will at my return avoid the king's indignation, but to obtain his highness' thanks, the which I will further for you as ye shall deserve.

"Now to the point of the Frenchmen's nature, ye shall understand that their disposition is such, that they will be at the first meeting as familiar with you as they had been acquainted with you long before, and commune with you in the French tongue as though ye understood every word they spake: therefore in like manner, be ye as familiar with them again as they be with you. If they speak to you in the French tongue, speak you to them in the English tongue; for if you understand not them, they shall no more understand you." And my lord speaking merrily to one of the gentlemen there, being a Welshman, "Rice," quoth he, "speak thou Welsh to him, and I am well assured that

thy Welsh shall be more diffuse[1] to him than his French shall be to thee." And then quoth he again to us all, "let all your entertainment and behaviour be according to all gentleness and humanity, that it may be reported, after your departure from thence, that ye be gentlemen of right good behaviour, and of much gentleness, and that ye be men that know your duty to your sovereign lord, and to your master, allowing much your great reverence. Thus shall ye not only obtain to yourselves great commendation and praise for the same, but also advance the honour of your prince and country. Now go your ways admonished of all these points, and prepare yourselves against to-morrow, for then we intend, God willing, to set forward." And thus, we being by him instructed and informed, departed to our lodgings, making all things in a readiness against the next day to advance forth with my lord.

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[1] "*Cook.* Then answere me, What sayest thou to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Tell me:

"*Jackson.* I answered; it is a *diffuse* question, to aske me at the first dash, you promising to deliver me." *Fox's Acts*, p. 1769. See also p. 1574. "*Diffuse* and *difficult*." *W.*

This word appears to have been used in the sense of *obscure*, but *difficult* is the reading of Grove's edition. I find *diffused* explained by Cotgrave "*diffus, espars*, OBSCURE." And in a Latin Greek and English Lexicon by R. Hutton, printed at London by H. Bynneman, 1583, the Latin adverb, *obscure*, is interpreted "darkely, obscurely, DIFFUSELY."

The next morrow, being Mary Magdalen's day, all things being furnished, my Lord Cardinal rode out of Calais with such a number of black velvet coats as hath not been seen with an ambassador. All the spears of Calais, Guines, and Hammes, were there attending upon him in that journey, in black velvet coats, and many great and massy chains of gold were worn there.

Thus passed he forth with three gentlemen in a rank, which occupied the length of three quarters of a mile or more, having all his accustomed and glorious furniture carried before him, as I before have rehearsed, except the broad seal, the which was left with Doctor Taylor, in Calais, then Master of the Rolls, until his return[2]. Passing thus on his way, and being scant a mile of his journey, it began to rain so vehemently that I have not seen the like for the time; that endured until we came to Boulogne; and or we came to Sandyngfeld, the Cardinal of Loraine, a goodly young gentleman, encountered my lord, and received him with great reverence and joy; and so passed forth together, until they came to Sandyngfeld, which is a place of religion, standing between the

[2] The great seal could not be carried out of the king's dominions without violating the law; letters patent were passed to enable Dr. Taylor to hold it in his absence.

French, English, and the Emperor's dominions, being neuter, holding of neither of them. And being come thither, met with him there Le Countie Brion, Captain of Picardy, with a great number of men of arms, as Stradiots and Arbenois[3] with others standing in array, in a great piece of oats, all in harness, upon light horses, passing with my lord, as it were in a wing, all his journey through Picardy; for my lord somewhat doubted the emperor, lest he would lay an ambush to betray him; for which cause the French king commanded them to await upon my lord for the assurance of his person out of the danger of his enemies. Thus rode he accompanied until he came to the town of Boulogne, where he was encountered within a mile thereof, with the worshipfullest citizens of the town, having among them a learned man, that made to him an oration in Latin; unto the which my lord made answer semblably in Latin.

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[3] *Stradiots and Arbenois.* These were light armed cavalry, said by Guicciardini to have been Greek mercenaries in the service of Venice, retaining their Greek name στρατιῶται. Arbenois is Albanians. *Albanois*, Fr. The following passage from *Nicot Thresor de la Langue Françoise, ed* 1606. *fol.* will fully explain this:

"A présent on apelle en particulier *Albanois* ces hommes de cheval armez à la légère, autrement dit Stratiote, ou *Stradiots* (par la consonne moyenne), qui portent les chapeaux à haute testière, desquels on se sert pour chevaux légers, qui viennent dudit pays d'Albanie, dont les Papes se servent encore de ce temps és garnisons de plusieurs villes du Saint siège, *Albani, olim Epirotæ.*"

And that done, Monsieur du Biez, Captain of Boulogne, with the retinue there of gentlemen, met him on horseback; which conveyed him into the town with all this assembly, until he came to the abbey gate, where he lighted and went directly into the church, and made his prayers before the image of our Lady, to whom he made his offering. And that done, he gave there his blessing to the people, with certain days of pardon[*]. Then went he into the abbey where he was lodged, and his train were lodged in the high and basse towns.

The next morning, after he heard mass, he rode unto *Montreuil sur la mer*, where he was encountered in like case as he was the day be-

[*] In like manner, we saw, a little above, that at Calais he gave "benediction and pardon." From a letter to the cardinal, from Humfrey Monmouth, confined in the Tower on suspicion of heresy, we may gather what notion was entertained, even by comparatively enlightened men, of the efficacy of these pardons. "If I had broken most part of the Ten Commandments of God, being penitent and confessed (I should be forgiven) by reason of certain pardons that I have, the which my company and I had graunted, whan we were at Rome, going to Jerusalem, of the holy father the pope, *a pœna et a culpa*, for certain times in the year: and that, I trust in God, I received at Easter last past. Furthermore I received, when your grace was last at Pawles, I trust in God, your pardon *of a pœna et a culpa*; the which I believe verily, if I had done never so great offences, being penitent and confessed, and axing forgiveness, that I should have forgiveness." *Strype's Ecclesiast. Memor.* vol. i. p. 248. Appendix. The cardinal had also a bull granted by Pope Leo Xth. A. D. 1518. to give in certain cases and conditions plenary remission from all sins. *Fiddes*, p. 48. Appendix. *W.*

fore, with the worshipfullest of the town, all in one livery, having one learned that made an oration before him in Latin, whom he answered in like manner in Latin; and as he entered in to the town, there was a canopy of silk embroidered with the letters and hat that was on the servants coats, borne over him [by] the persons of most estimation within the town. And when he was alighted his footmen seized the same as a fee due to their office. Now was there made divers pageants for joy of his coming, who was called there, and in all other places within the realm of France as he travelled, *Le Cardinal Pacifique;* and in Latin *Cardinalis Pacificus.* [He] was accompanied all that night with divers worthy gentlemen of the country there about.

The next day he rode toward Abbeville, where he was encountered with divers gentlemen of the town and country, and so conveyed unto the town, where he was most honourably received with pageants of divers kinds, wittily and costly invented, standing in every corner of the streets as he rode through the town; having a like canopy borne over him, being of more richer sort than the other at Montreuil, or at Boulogne was; they brought him to his lodging, which was, as it seemed, a very fair house newly built with brick. At which house King Louis

married my Lady Mary, King Henry the VIIIth sister; which was after married to the Duke of Suffolk, Charles Brandon. And being within, it was in manner of a gallery, yet notwithstanding it was very necessary. In this house my lord remained eight or ten days; to whom resorted, daily, divers of the council of France, feasting them, and other noble men, and gentlemen that accompanied the council, both at dinners and suppers.

Then when the time came that he should depart from thence, he rode to a castle beyond the waters of Somme, called Pinquigny Castle, adjoining unto the said water, standing upon a great rock or hill, within the which was a goodly college of priests; the situation whereof was most like unto the castle of Windsor in England; and there he was received with a solemn procession, conveying him first into the church, and after unto his lodging within the castle. At this castle King Edward the Fourth met with the French king, upon the bridge that goeth over the water of Somme, as ye may read in the chronicles of England.

When my lord was settled within his lodging, it was reported unto me that the French king should come that day into Amiens, which was within six English miles of Pinquigny Castle; and being desirous to see his first coming into

the town, [I] axed license and took with me one or two gentlemen of my lord's, and rode incontinent thither, as well to provide me of a necessary lodging as to see the king. And when we came thither, being but strangers, [we] took up our inn (for the time) at the sign of the Angel, directly against the west door of the cathedral church *de notre Dame Sainte Marie.* And after we had dined there, tarrying until three or four of the clock, expecting the king's coming, in came Madame Regent, the king's mother, riding in a very rich chariot; and in the same with her was her daughter, the Queen of Navarre, furnished with a hundred ladies and gentlewomen or more following, riding upon white palfreys; over and besides divers other ladies and gentlewomen that rode some in rich chariots, and some in horse litters; who lighted at the west door with all this train, accompanied with many other noblemen and gentlemen besides her guard, which was not small in number. Then, within two hours after, the king came into the town with a great shot of guns and divers pageants, made for the nonce at the king's *bien venue;* having about his person both before him and behind him, besides the wonderful number of noblemen and gentlemen, three great guards diversely apparelled. The *first* was of Soutches and Burgonyons, with guns and

havresacks. The *second* was of Frenchmen, some with bows and arrows, and some with bills. The *third* guard was *pour le corps*, which was of tall Scots, much more comelier persons than all the rest. The French guard and the Scots had all one livery, which was rich coats of fine white cloth, with a guard of silver bullion embroidered an handful broad. The king came riding upon a goodly genet, and lighted at the west door of the said church, and so [was] conveyed into the church up to the high altar, where he made his prayers upon his knees, and [was] then conveyed into the bishop's palace, where he was lodged, and also his mother.

The next morning I rode again to Pinquigny to attend upon my lord, at which time my lord was ready to take his mule towards Amiens; and passing on his journey thitherward, he was encountered from place to place with divers noble and worthy personages, making to him divers orations in Latin, to which he made answer again *extempore;* at whose excellent learning and pregnant wit they wondered very much. Then was word brought my lord that the king was coming to encounter him; with that, he having none other shift, was compelled to alight in an old chapel that stood by the high way, and there newly apparelled him into more richer apparel; and then mounted upon a new mule very richly trapped, with a

footcloth and traps of crimson velvet upon velvet, purled with gold, and fringed about with a deep fringe of gold very costly, his stirrups of silver and gilt, the bosses and cheeks of his bridle of the same [5]. And by that time that he was mounted again after this most gorgeous sort, the king was come very near, within less than a quarter of a mile English, mustering upon an hill side, his guard standing in array along the same, expecting my lord's coming; to whom my lord made as much haste as conveniently it became him; until he came within a pair of butt lengths, and there he staid awhile. The king perceiving that, stood still; and having two worthy gentlemen young and lusty [with him], both brethren to the Duke of Lorraine, and to the Cardinal of Lorraine; whereof one of them was called Monsieur de Guise, and the other Monsieur Vaudemont: they were both apparelled like the king, in purple velvet lined with cloth of silver, and their

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[5] Whose mule if it should be sold
So gayly trapped with velvet and gold
And given to us for our schare,
I durst ensure the one thing
As for a competent lyvynge
This seven yeare we should not care.
Roy's Satire.

In the picture of the Champs de drap d'or, which has been engraved by the Society of Antiquaries, the cardinal appears mounted on a richly caparisoned mule.

coats cut, the king caused Monsieur Vaudemont to issue from him, and to ride unto my lord to know the cause of his tracting. [This monsieur] rode upon a fair courser, taking his race in a full gallop, even until he came unto my lord; and there caused his horse to come aloft once or twice so nigh my lord's mule, that he was in doubt of his horse; and with that he lighted from his courser, and doing his message to my lord with humble reverence; which done, he mounted again, and caused his horse to do the same at his departing as he did before, and so repaired again to the king; and, after his answer made, the king advanced forward. That seeing my lord did the like, and in the mid way they met, embracing each other on horseback, with most amiable countenance entertaining each other right nobly. Then drew into the place all noblemen and gentlemen on both sides, with wonderful cheer made one to another, as they had been of an old acquaintance. The prease was such and [so] thick, that divers had their legs hurt with horses. Then the king's officers cried "*Marche, marche, devant, allez devant.*" And the king, and my Lord Cardinal on his right hand, rode together to Amiens, every English gentleman accompanied with another of France. The train of French and English endured two long miles, that is to say from

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the place of their encounter unto Amiens; where they were very nobly received with shot of guns and costly pageants, until the king had brought my lord to his lodging, and there departed asunder for that night, the king being lodged in the bishop's palace. The next day after dinner, my lord with a great train of noblemen and gentlemen of England, rode unto the king's court; at which time the king kept his bed, being somewhat diseased, yet notwithstanding my lord came into his bedchamber, where sat on the one side of his bed his mother, Madam Regent, and on the other side the Cardinal of Lorraine, with divers other noblemen of France. And after a short communication, and drinking of a cup of wine with the king's mother, my lord departed again to his lodging, accompanied with divers gentlemen and noblemen of France, who supped with him. Thus continued the king and my lord in Amiens the space of two weeks and more, consulting[6]

[6] A previous negotiation of a singular nature had been begun, for the Bishop of Bath writes to the cardinal in March, 1527, that "Francis is very desirous to have the Princess Mary, and to have her delivered into his hands as soon as the peace is concluded. Our king pretends her non age, and will have all, pension, &c., concluded first. The Queen Regent is earnest also for the present marriage: Saying there is no danger, for she herself was married at xi. And for this match there might be a device to satisfy both sides, saying the princess will be well toward xii by August. At that time both princes should meet at Calais with a small com-

and feasting each other divers times. [And in the feast of the Assumption of our Lady, my lord rose betimes and went to the cathedral church *de notre Dame*, and there, before my Lady Regent and the Queen of Navarre, in our Lady Chapel, he said his service and mass; and after mass, he himself ministered the sacrament unto my Lady Regent and to the Queen of Navarre. And that done, the king resorted unto the church, and was conveyed into a rich travers at the high altar; and directly against him, on the other side of the altar, sat my Lord Cardinal in another rich travers[7], three gressis[8] higher than the king's.

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pany and charge, there her son, after the marriage solemnized, might abide himself for an hour or less with my Lady Princess; she said the king her son was a man of honour and discretion, and would use no violence, especially the father and mother being so nigh; meaning, that *conatus ad copulam cum illa, quæ est proxima pubertati, prudentia supplente ætatem*, should make every thing sure, that neither party should now vary. So the king her son might be assured of his wife, and King Henry carry back his daughter till she should be accounted more able, &c. This overture our ambassadors think very strange." *Fiddes Collections*, p. 176. The Bishop of Bath returned into England soon after the cardinal went on his mission, to relate to Henry the course adopted by the cardinal in treating with Francis, and also to explain to him certain devices concerning his own secret matters. *Mr. Master's Collections.*

[7] Skinner explains this word, *a curtain*. It evidently signifies here an enclosed or divided space or seat, decorated with rich draperies or curtains. In another place we have *a traverse of sarsenet*, which confirms Skinner's explanation.

[8] Grises, greeses, or *steps*, for it was spelt various ways according to the caprice of the writer, from the Latin *gressus*.

And at the altar, before them both, a bishop sang high mass, and at the fraction of the host the same bishop divided the sacrament between the king and the cardinal, for the performance of the peace concluded between them; which mass was sung solemnly by the king's chapel, having among them cornets and sackbuts. And after mass was done the trumpeters blew in the roodeloft[9] until the king was past inward to his lodging out of the church. And at his coming in to the bishop's palace, where he intended to dine with my Lord Cardinal, there sat, within a cloister, about two hundred persons diseased with the king's evil, upon their knees. And the king, or ever he went to dinner, provised every of them with rubbing and blessing them with his bare hands, being bare headed all the while; after whom followed his almoner distributing of money unto the persons diseased. And that done he said certain prayers over them, and then washed his hands, and so came up into his chamber to dinner, where as my lord dined with him.][1]

Then it was determined that the king and my lord should remove out of Amiens, and so they did, to a town or city called Compeigne, which

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[9] The *roodeloft* was the place where the cross stood, it was generally placed over the passage out of the church into the chancel.

[1] The passage within brackets is not to be found in any of the more recent MSS., nor in Dr. Wordsworth's edition.

was more than twenty English miles from thence; unto which town I was sent to prepare my lord's lodging. And as I rode on my journey, being upon a Friday, my horse chanced to cast a shoe in a little village, where stood a fair castle. And as it chanced there dwelt a smith, to whom I commanded my servant to carry my horse to shoe, and standing by him while my horse was a shoeing, there came to me one of the servants of the castle, perceiving me to be the cardinal's servant and an Englishman, who required me to go with him into the castle to my lord his master, whom he thought would be very glad of my coming and company. Whose request I granted, because that I was always desirous to see and be acquainted with strangers, in especial with men in honour and authority, so I went with him; who conducted me unto the castle, and being entered in the first ward, the watchmen of that ward, being very honest tall men, came and saluted me most reverently, and knowing the cause of my coming, desired me to stay a little while until they had advertised my lord their master of my being there; and so I did. And incontinent the lord of the castle came out to me, who was called Monsieur Crequi, a nobleman born, and very nigh of blood to King Louis, the last king that reigned before this King

Francis. And at his first coming he embraced me, saying that I was right heartily welcome, and thanked me that I so gently would visit him and his castle, saying furthermore that he was preparing to encounter the king and my lord, to desire them most humbly the next day to take his castle in their way, if he could so intreat them. And true it is that he was ready to ride in a coat of velvet with a pair of velvet arming shoes on his feet, and a pair of gilt spurs on his heels. Then he took me by the hand, and most gently led me into his castle, through another ward. And being once entered into the base court of the castle, I saw all his family and household servants standing in goodly order, in black coats and gowns, like mourners, who led me into the hall, which was hanged with hand-guns, as thick as one could hang by another upon the walls; and in the hall stood an hawk's perch, whereon stood three or four fair goshawks. Then went we into the parlour, which was hanged with fine old arras, and being there but a while, communing together of my lord of Suffolk, how he was there to have besieged the same, his servants brought to him bread and wine of divers sorts, whereof he caused me to drink. And after, "I will," quoth he, "show you the strength of my house, how hard it would have been for my Lord of Suffolk

to have won it." Then led he me upon the walls, which were very strong, more than fifteen foot thick, and well garnished with great battery pieces of ordnance ready charged to [be] shot off against the king and my lord's coming.

When he had showed me all the walls and bulwarks about the castle, he descended from the walls, and came down into a fair inner court, where his genet stood for to mount upon, with twelve other genets, the most fairest and best that ever I saw, and in especial his own, which was a mare genet, he showed me that he might have had for her four hundred crowns. But upon the other twelve genets were mounted twelve goodly young gentlemen, called pages of honour; all bare headed in coats of cloth of gold, and black velvet cloaks, and on their legs boots of red Spanish leather, and spurs parcel gilt.

Then he took his leave of me, commanding his steward and other his gentlemen to attend upon me, and conduct me unto my lady his wife, to dinner. And that done he mounted upon his genet, and took his journey forth out of his castle. Then the steward, with the rest of the gentlemen, led me up into a tower in the gatehouse, where then my lady their mistress lay, for the time that the king and my lord should tarry there.

I being in a fair great dining chamber, where the table was covered for dinner, and there I attended my lady's coming; and after she came thither out of her own chamber, she received me most gently, like [one of] noble estate, having a train of twelve gentlewomen. And when she with her train came all out, she said to me, "For as much," quoth she, "as ye be an Englishman, whose custom is in your country to kiss[2] all ladies and gentlewomen without offence, and although it be not so here in this realm, yet will I be so bold to kiss you, and so shall all my maidens." By means whereof I kissed my lady and all her women. Then went she to her dinner, being as nobly served as I have seen any of her

[2] Erasmus, in a letter to Alexander, dwells with delight upon this custom of the English ladies:

"Quanquam si Britanniæ dotes satis pernosses Fauste, næ tu alatis pedibus, huc accurreres; et si podagra tua non sineret, Dædalum te fieri optares. Nam ut e pluribus unum quiddam attingam. Sunt hic nymphæ divinis vultibus, blandæ, faciles, et quas tu tuis Camænis facile anteponas. *Est præterea mos nunquam satis laudatus*: Sive quo venias omnium osculis exciperis; sive discedas aliquo, osculis demitteris: redis? redduntur suavia: venitur ad te? propinantur suavia: disceditur abs te? dividuntur basia: occurritur alicubi? basiatur affatim: denique, quocunque te moveas, suaviorum plena sunt omnia. Quæ si tu, Fauste, gustasses semel quam sint mollicula, quam fragrantia, profecto cuperes non decennium solum, ut Solon fecit, sed ad mortem usque in Anglia peregrinari." *Erasmi Epistol.* p. 315, edit. 1642. "It becometh nat therefore the persones religious to folowe *the maner of secular persones*, that in theyr congresses and commune metyngs or departyng done use to kysse, take hands, or such other touchings, that good religious persones shulde utterly avoyde." *Whytford's Pype of Perfection.* fol. 213. b. A. D. 1532. *W.*

estate here in England, having all the dinner time with me pleasant communication, which was of the usage and behaviour of our gentlewomen and gentlemen of England, and commended much the behaviour of them, right excellently; for she was with the king at Ardres, when the great encounter and meeting was between the French king and the king our sovereign lord: at which time she was, both for her person and goodly haviour, appointed to company with the ladies of England. To be short, after dinner pausing a little, I took my leave of her, and so departed and rode on my journey.

By reason of my tracting of time in Chastel de Crequi[3], I was constrained that night to lye in a town by the way, called *Montdidier*, the suburbs whereof my Lord of Suffolk had lately burned. And in the next morning I took my journey and came to Compeigne upon the Saturday, then being there the market day; and at my first coming I took my inn in the midst of the market-place, and being there set at dinner in a fair chamber, that had a window looking into the street, I heard a great rumour and clattering of bills. With that I looked out into the street,

[3] This name is spelt *Creeky* and *Crykky* in the autograph MS. In Wordsworth's edition it is Crokey. Grove has it *Crockly*, and two of the MSS. copies *Crokir*. I know not whether I have divined the true orthography, but there was a noble family of this name at the time.

and there I espied where the officers of the town brought a prisoner to execution, whose head they strake off with a sword. And when I demanded the cause of his offence, it was answered me, that it was for killing of a red deer in the forest thereby, the punishment whereof is but death. Incontinent they had set up the poor man's head upon a pole in the market-place, between the stag's horns; and his quarters in four parts of the forest.

Then went I about to prepare my lord's lodging, and to see it furnished, which was there in the great castle of the town, whereof to my lord was assigned the one half, and the other half was reserved for the king; and in like wise there was a long gallery divided between them, wherein was made in the midst thereof a strong wall with a door and window, and there the king and my lord would many times meet at the same window, and secretly talk together, and divers times they would go the one to the other, at the said door.

Now was there lodged also Madame Regent, the king's mother, and all her train of ladies and gentlewomen. Unto which place the Chancellor of France came (a very witty man), with all the king's grave counsellors, who took great pains daily in consultation. In so much as I heard my Lord Cardinal fall out with the Chan-

cellor, laying unto his charge, that he went about to hinder the league which my said Lord Cardinal had before his coming concluded between the king our sovereign lord and the French king his master; insomuch that my lord stomached the matter very stoutly, and told him, "That it should not lie in his power to dissolve the amicable fidelity between them. And if his master the king being there present forsook his promise and followed his counsel, he should not fail after his return into England to feel the smart, and what a thing it is to break promise with the King of England, whereof he should be well assured." And therewithal he arose and went into his own lodging, wondrously offended. So that his stout countenance, and bold words, made them all in doubt how to pacify his displeasure, and revoke him again to the council, who was then departed in a fury. There was sending, there was coming, there was also intreating, and there was great submission made to him, to reduce him to his former friendly communication; who would in no wise relent until Madame Regent came herself, who handled the matter so discreetly and wittily, that she reconciled him to his former communication. And by that means he brought other matters to pass, that before he could not attain, nor cause the council to grant; which

was more for fear, than for any affection to the matter, he had the heads of all the council so under his girdle that he might rule them all there as well as he might the council of England.

The next morning after this conflict, he rose early, about four of the clock, sitting down to write letters into England unto the king, commanding one of his chaplains to prepare him to mass, insomuch that his said chaplain stood revested until four of the clock at afternoon; all which season my lord never rose once to ——, ne yet to eat any meat, but continually wrote his letters, with his own hands, having all that time his nightcap and keverchief on his head. And about the hour of four of the clock, at afternoon, he made an end of writing, commanding one Christopher Gunner, the king's servant, to prepare him without delay to ride empost into England with his letters, whom he dispatched away or ever he drank. And that done, he went to mass, and said his other divine service with his chaplain, as he was accustomed to do; and then went straight into a garden; and after he had walked the space of an hour or more, and said his evensong[4], he

[4] *Evensong.* "Which persons for their waiting befoir noon hath licence at afternoon to go about their own business from the saide noon to iij of the clocke that evensong begin."

Northumberland Houschold Book, p. 310.

went to dinner and supper all at once; and making a small repast, he went to his bed, to take his rest for that night.

The next night following he caused a great supper to be provided for Madame Regent, and the Queen of Navarre, and other great estates of ladies and noble women.

There was also Madame Renée, one of the daughters of King Louis, whose sister, (lately dead), King Francis had married. These sisters were, by their mother, inheritrices of the Duchy of Britanny, and for as much as the king had married one of the sisters, by whom he had the moiety of the said duchy, and to attain the other moiety, and so to be lord of the whole, he kept the said Lady Renée without marriage, intending that, she having none issue, the whole duchy might descend to him, or to his succession, after her death, for want of issue of her body.

But now let us return again to the supper or rather a solemn banquet, where all these noble persons were highly feasted; and in the midst of their triumph, the French king, with the king of Navarre, came suddenly in upon them unknown, who took their places at the nether end of the table. There was not only plenty of fine meats, but also much mirth and solace, as well in communication, as in instruments of music

set forth with my lord's minstrels, who played there so cunningly and dulce all that night, that the king took therein great pleasure, insomuch that he desired my lord to lend them unto him the next night. And after supper and banquet finished, the ladies and gentlewomen went to dancing; among whom one Madame Fountaine, a maid, had the prize. And thus passed they the night in pleasant mirth and joy.

The next day the king took my lord's minstrels and rode unto a nobleman's house, where was some goodly image that he had avowed a pilgrimage unto, to perform his devotion. When he came there, he danced, and others with him, the most part of that night; my lord's minstrels played there so excellently all that night, that the shalme—[5], (whether it were with extreme labour of blowing, or with poisoning, as some judged, because they were more commended

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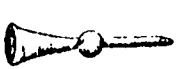
[5] The shalme, or shawm, was a wind instrument like a hautboy, with a swelling protuberance in the middle. In "Commenius's Visible World," translated by Hoole, 1659, the Latin word *gingras* is translated by shawn, and the form of the instrument is represented as below. Its proper name appears to have been *shawme*, it is derived from the Teutonic. Drayton mentions it as shrill-toned: 'E'en from the shrillest *shaum* unto the cornamute.'

Polyolbion v. iv. p. 376.



and accepted with the king than his own, I cannot tell), but he that played upon the shalme, an excellent man in that art, died within a day or twain after.

Then the king returned again unto Compeigne, and caused a wild boar to be lodged for him in the forest there; whither my lord rode with the king to the hunting of the wild swine within a toil; where the Lady Regent stood in chariots or wagons, looking on the toil, on the outside thereof, accompanied with many ladies and damosels; among whom my lord stood by the Lady Regent, to regard and behold the pastime and manner of hunting. There was within the toil divers goodly gentlemen with the king, ready garnished to this high enterprise and dangerous hunting of the perilous wild swine. The king being in his doublet and hosen only, without any other garments, all of sheep's colour cloth; his hosen, from the knee upward, was altogether thrummed with silk very thick of the same colour: having in a slip a fair brace of great white greyhounds, armed, as the manner is to arm their greyhounds from the violence of the boar's tusks. And all the rest of the king's gentlemen, being appointed to hunt this boar, were likewise in their doublets and hosen, holding each of them in their hands a very sharp boar's spear.

The king being thus furnished, commanded the hunts to uncouch the boar, and that every other person should go to a standing, among whom were divers gentlemen and yeomen of England; and incontinent the boar issued out of his den, chased with an hound into the plain, and being there, stalked a while gazing upon the people, and incontinent being forced by the hound, he espied a little bush standing upon a bank over a ditch, under the which lay two lusty gentlemen of France, and thither fled the boar, to defend him, thrusting his head snuffing into the same bush where these two gentlemen lay, who fled with such speed as men do from the danger of death. Then was the boar by violence and pursuit of the hounds and the hunts driven from thence, and ran straight to one of my lord's footmen, a very comely person, and an hardy, who held in his hand an English javelin, with the which he was fain to defend himself from the fierce assault of the boar, who foined at him continually with his great tusks, whereby he was compelled at the last to pitch his javelin in the ground between him and the boar, the which the boar brake with his force of foining. And with that the yeoman drew his sword, and stood at defence; and with that the hunts came to the rescue, and put him once again to flight. With

that he fled and ran to another young gentleman of England, called Master Ratcliffe, son and heir to the Lord Fitzwalter, and after[6] Earl of Sussex, who by chance had borrowed of a French gentleman a fine boar spear, [very sharp, upon whom, the boar being sore chafed, began to assault very eagerly, and the young gentleman deliverly avoided his strokes, and in turning about he struck the boar with such violence (with the same spear that he had borrowed) upon the houghs, that he cut the sinews of both his legs at one stroke, that the boar was constrained to sit down upon his haunches and defend himself, for he could go no more; this gentleman perceiving then his most advantage, thrust his spear into the boar under the shoulder up to the heart, and thus he slew the great boar. Wherefore among the noblemen of France it was reputed to be one of the noblest enterprises that a man might do (as though he had slain a man of arms); and thus our Master Ratcliffe bare then away the prize of that feat of hunting, this dangerous and royal pastime, in killing of the wild boar, whose tusks the Frenchman doth most commonly doubt above all other dangers, as it seemed to us Englishmen then being present.]

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[6] *Now*, Wordsworth's edit.

[In this time of my lord's being in France, over and besides his noble entertainment with the king and nobles, he sustained diverse displeasures of the French slaves, that devised a certain book, which was set forth in diverse articles upon the causes of my lord's being there: which should be, as they surmised, that my lord was come thither to conclude two marriages; the one between the king our sovereign lord and Madame Reneé[7], of whom I spake heretofore; and the other between the then princess of England, (now being queen of this realm), my Lady Mary the king's daughter and the French king's second son, the Duke of Orleans, who is at this present king of France: with diverse other conclusions and agreements touching the same. Of this book many were imprinted and conveyed into England, unknown to my lord,

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[7] Catherine Reneé, one of the daughters of Louis the Twelfth. It does not seem that this exposition of the cardinal's views in regard to the union of Henry with this princess, in case of a divorce, were without foundation, for he persuaded himself that Henry's passion for Anne Boleyn would soon subside, and thought this alliance a sure mode of perpetuating the peace and union between the sovereigns. The other part of the assertion was proved true by the subsequent treaty, in which it was agreed that the Princess Mary should marry either Francis, or the Duke of Orleans; the first if he should remain a widower until she was of sufficient age, the second if it seemed expedient that Francis should keep his faith to the emperor, and marry his sister Leonora, to whom he was contracted by the Treaty of Madrid. Hence the necessity of keeping these designs secret, and the cardinal's anger at their developement.

[he] being then in France, to the great slander of the realm of England, and of my Lord Cardinal. But whether they were devised of policy to pacify the mutterings of the people, which had diverse communications and imaginations of my lord's being there; or whether [they] were devised of some malicious person, as the dispositions of the common people are accustomed to do, upon such secret consultations, I know not; but whatsoever the occasion or cause was, the author hath set forth such books. This I am well assured, that after my lord was thereof well advertised, and had perused one of the said books, he was not a little offended, and assembled all the privy council of France together, to whom he spake his mind thus; saying, that it was not only a suspicion in them, but also a great rebuke and a defamation to the king's honour to see and know any such seditious untruths openly divulged and set forth by any malicious and subtle traitor of this realm; saying furthermore, that if the like had been attempted within the realm of England, he doubted not but to see it punished according to the traitorous demeanour and deserts. Notwithstanding I saw but small redress [8]].

[8] This passage stands in the ordinary MSS., and in Dr. Wordsworth's edition, in the following abridged and confused manner. The transcribers of the MSS. appear to have been sensible that their copy was defective, for in several of them one or two blank leaves are here left.

So this was one of the displeasures that the Frenchmen showed him, for all his pains and travail that he took for qualifying of their king's ransom.

Also another displeasure was this. There was no place where he was lodged after he entered the territory of France, but that he was robbed in his privy chamber, either of one thing or other; and at Compeigne he lost his standish of silver, and gilt: and there it was espied, and the party taken, which was but a little boy of twelve or thirteen years of age, a ruffian's page of Paris, which haunted my lord's lodging without any suspicion, until he was taken lying under my lord's privy stairs; upon which occasion he was apprehended and examined, and incontinent confessed all things that were missed, which he stole, and brought to his master the ruffian, who received the same, and procured him so to do. After the spial of this boy, my lord revealed the same unto the council, by means

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"Now shortly after there were divers malicious practices pretended against us by the French, who by their theft somewhat impaired us: whereupon one of them, being a man I was well acquainted with, maintained a seditious untruth, openly divulged, and set forth by a subtle and traitorous subject of their realm, saying also that he doubted not, but the like had been attempted within the king of England his majesty's dominions; but to see so open and manifest blasphemy to be openly punished, according to their traitorous deserts, notwithstanding I saw but small redress."

There are also considerable omissions in the relation of young Ratcliffe's combat with the wild boar, the passages are distinguished by brackets.

whereof the ruffian was apprehended, and set on the pillory, in the midst of the market-place; a goodly recompense for such an heinous offence. Also another displeasure was; some lewd person, whosoever it was, had engraved in the great chamber window where my lord lay, upon the leaning stone there, a cardinal's hat with a pair of gallows over it, in derision of my lord; with divers other unkind demeanours, the which I leave here to write, they be matters so slanderous.

Thus passing divers days in consultation, expecting the return of Christopher Gunner, which was sent into England with letters unto the king, as it is rehearsed heretofore, by empost, who at last returned again with other letters; upon receipt whereof my lord made haste to return into England.

In the morning that my lord should depart and remove, being then at mass in his closet, he consecrated the Chancellor of France a cardinal, and put upon him the habit due to that order; and then took his journey into England-ward, making such necessary expedition that he came to Guisnes, where he was nobly received of my Lord Sands, then captain there, with all the retinue thereof. And from thence he rode to Calais, where he tarried the shipping of his stuff, horses, and train; and in the

meantime he established there a mart, to be kept for all nations; but how long it endured, and in what sort it was used, I know not, for I never heard of any great good that it did, or of any worthy assembly there of merchants or merchandise, that was brought thither for the furniture of so weighty a matter.

These things finished, and others for the weal of the town, he took shipping and arrived at Dover, from whence he rode to the king, being then in his progress at Sir Harry Wyatt's house, in Kent, [it was] supposed among us that he should be joyfully received at his home coming, as well of the king as of all other noblemen: but we were deceived in our expectation. Notwithstanding he went, immediately after his coming, to the king, with whom he had long talk, and continued there in the court two or three days; and then returned to his house at Westminster, where he remained until Michaelmas term, which was within a fortnight after, and using his room of Chancellorship, as he was wont to do.

At which time he caused an assembly to be made in the Star Chamber, of all the noblemen, judges, and justices of the peace of every shire that were at that present in Westminster Hall, and there made to them a long oration, declaring unto them the cause of his embassy into

France, and of his proceeding there; among the which he said, "he had concluded such an amity and friendship as never was heard of in this realm in our time before, as well between the emperor and us, as between the French king and our sovereign lord, concluding a perpetual peace, which shall be confirmed in writing, alternately, sealed with the broad seals of both the realms graved in fine gold; affirming furthermore, that the king should receive yearly his tribute, by that name, for the Duchy of Normandy, with all other costs which he hath sustained in the wars. And where there was a restraint made in France of the French queen's dower, whom the Duke of Suffolk had married, for divers years during the wars, it is fully concluded, that she shall not only receive the same yearly again, but also the arrearages being unpaid during the restraint. All which things shall be perfected at the coming of the great embassy out of France: in the which shall be a great number of noblemen and gentlemen for the conclusion of the same, as hath not been seen repair hither out of one realm in an embassy. This peace thus concluded, there shall be such an amity between gentlemen of each realm, and intercourse of merchants with merchandise, that it shall seem to all men the territories to be but one monarchy. Gentlemen

may travel quietly from one country to another for their recreation and pastime; and merchants, being arrived in each country, shall be assured to travel about their affairs in peace and tranquillity: so that this realm shall joy and prosper for ever. Wherefore it shall be well done for all true Englishmen to advance and set forth this perpetual peace, both in countenance and gesture, with such entertainment as it may be a just occasion unto the Frenchmen to accept the same in good part, and also to use you with the semblable, and make of the same a noble report in their countries.

"Now, good my lords and gentlemen, I most entirely require you in the king's behalf, that ye will show yourselves herein very loving and obedient subjects, wherein the king will much rejoice [at] your towardness, and give to every man his princely thanks for such liberality and gentleness, as ye or any of you shall minister unto them." And here he ended his persuasion, and so departed into the dining chamber, and dined among the lords of the council.

This great embassy[9], long looked for, was now come over [with a great retinue], which were in number above fourscore persons, of the most

[9] The twentieth of October, A. D. 1527. The embassadors were the Maréchal de Montmorency, the Bishop of Bayonne, the President of Rouen, and Monsieur d'Humieres.

noblest and worthiest gentlemen in all the court of France, who were right honourably received from place to place after their arrival, and so conveyed through London unto the bishop's palace in Paul's Churchyard, where they were lodged. To whom divers noblemen resorted and gave them divers goodly presents; and in especial the Mayor and city of London, as wine, sugar, wax, capons, wild fowl, beefs, muttons, and other necessaries in great abundance, for the expenses of their house. Then the next Sunday after their resort to London, they repaired to the court at Greenwich, and there, by the king's majesty, most highly received and entertained. They had a special commission to create and stall the king's highness in the Royal order of France; for which purpose they brought with them a collar of fine gold of the order, with a Michael hanging thereat, and robes to the same appurtenant, the which was wondrous costly and comely, of purple velvet, richly embroidered; I saw the king in all this apparel and habit, passing through the chamber of presence unto his closet; and afterward in the same habit at mass beneath in the chapel. And to gratify the French king with like honour, [he] sent incontinent unto [him] the like order of England by a nobleman (the Earl of Wiltshire), purposely for that intent, to create

him one of the same order of England, accompanied with Garter the Herald, with all robes, garter, and other habiliments to the same belonging; as costly in every degree as the other was of the French king's, the which was done before the return of the great embassy.

And for the performance of this noble and perpetual peace, it was concluded and determined that a solemn mass should be sung in the cathedral church of Paul's by the cardinal; against which time there was prepared a gallery made from the west door of the church of Paul's' [through the body of the same], unto the quire door, railed on every side, upon the which stood [vessels] full of perfumes burning. Then the king and my Lord Cardinal, and all the Frenchmen, with all other noblemen and gentlemen, were conveyed upon this gallery unto the high altar into the traverses; then my Lord Cardinal prepared himself to mass, associated with twenty-four mitres of bishops and abbots, attending upon him, and to serve him, in such ceremonies as to him, by virtue of his legatine prerogative, were due.

And after the last agnus[1], the king rose out

[1] The book of ceremonies (compiled under the influence of the Bishops Gardiner and Tonstall, and in opposition to that of Cranmer, about the year 1540, and designed to retain in the church many operose and superstitious rites, by setting them off with the aids of a philosophical and subtle interpretation), describing in

of his travers and kneeled upon a cushion and carpet at the high altar; and the Grand Master of France, the chief ambassador, that represented the king his master, kneeled by the king's majesty, between whom my lord divided the sacrament, as a firm oath and assurance of this perpetual peace. That done, the king resorted again to his travers, and the Grand Master in like wise to his. This mass finished, which was sung with the king's chapel and the quire of Paul's, my Lord Cardinal took the instrument of this perpetual peace and amity, and read the same openly before the king and the assembly, both of English and French, to the which the king subscribed with his own hand, and the Grand Master, for the French king, in like wise, the which was sealed with seals of fine gold, engraven, and delivered to each other as their firm deeds; and all this done and finished they departed.

The king rode home to the cardinal's house at Westminster, to dinner, with whom dined all

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succession the different parts of the Canon of the Mass, proceeds thus, "Then saith the priest *thrice. Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi*, &c. advertising us of *three* effects of Christ's passion; whereof the *first* is, deliverance from the misery of sin; the *second* is from pain of everlasting damnation; wherefore he saith twice *Miserere nobis*, that is to say, *Have mercy on us*; and the *third* effect is, giving of everlasting peace, consisting in the glorious fruition of God." *Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials.* Vol. i. p. 289. Records. See also *Mirror of our Lady.* fol. 189, and *Becon's Works.* Vol. iii. fol. 49. A. D. 1564. *W.*

the Frenchmen, passing all day after in consultation in weighty matters, touching the conclusion of this peace and amity. That done, the king went again by water to Greenwich; at whose departing it was determined by the king's device, that the French gentlemen should resort unto Richmond to hunt there, in every of the parks, and from thence to Hampton Court, and therein likewise to hunt, and there my Lord Cardinal to make for them a supper, and lodge them there that night; and from thence they should ride to Windsor, and there to hunt, and after their return to London they should resort to the court, whereas the king would banquet them. And this perfectly determined, the king and the Frenchmen all departed.

Then was there no more to do but to make provision at Hampton Court for this assembly against the day appointed. My Lord Cardinal called for his principal officers of his house, as his Steward, Comptroller, and the Clerks of his Kitchen, whom he commanded to prepare for this banquet at Hampton Court; and neither to spare for expenses or travail, to make them such triumphant cheer, as they may not only wonder at it here, but also make a glorious report in their country, to the king's honour and [that] of this realm. His pleasure once known, to accomplish his commandment they sent forth all

the caterers, purveyors, and other persons, to prepare of the finest viands that they could get, other for money or friendship among my lord's friends. Also they sent for all the expertest cooks, besides my lord's, that they could get in all England, where they might be gotten, to serve to garnish this feast.

The purveyors brought and sent in such plenty of costly provision, as ye would wonder at the same. The cooks wrought both night and day in divers subtleties and many crafty devices; where lacked neither gold, silver, ne any other costly thing meet for the purpose.

The yeomen and grooms of the wardrobes were busied in hanging of the chambers with costly hangings, and furnishing the same with beds of silk, and other furniture apt for the same in every degree. Then my Lord Cardinal sent me, being gentleman usher, with two other of my fellows to Hampton Court, to foresee all things touching our rooms, to be noblily garnished accordingly. Our pains were not small or light, but traveling daily from chamber to chamber. Then the carpenters, the joiners, the masons, the painters, and all other artificers necessary to glorify the house and feast were set at work. There was carriage and re-carriage of plate, stuff, [and] other rich implements; so that there was nothing lacking or to

be imagined or devised for the purpose. There were also fourteen score beds provided and furnished with all manner of furniture to them belonging, too long particularly here to rehearse. But to all wise men it sufficeth to imagine, that knoweth what belongeth to the furniture of such triumphant feast or banquet.

The day was come that to the Frenchmen was assigned, and they ready assembled at Hampton Court, something before the hour of their appointment. Wherefore the officers caused them to ride to Hanworth, a place and park of the king's, within two or three miles, there to hunt and spend the time until night. At which time they returned again to Hampton Court, and every of them conveyed to his chamber severally, having in them great fires and wine ready to refresh them, remaining there until their supper was ready, and the chambers where they should sup were ordered in due form. The first waiting-chamber was hanged with fine arras, and so was all the rest, one better than an other, furnished with tall yeomen. There was set tables round about the chamber, banquet-wise, all covered with fine cloths of diaper. A cupboard of plate, parcel gilt, having also in the same chamber, to give the more light, four plates of silver, set with lights upon them, a great fire in the chimney.

The next chamber, being the chamber of presence, hanged with very rich arras, wherein was a gorgeous and a precious cloth of estate hanged up, replenished with many goodly gentlemen ready to serve. The boards were set as the other boards were in the other chamber before, save that the high table was set and removed beneath the cloth of estate, towards the midst of the chamber, covered with fine linen cloths of damask work, sweetly perfumed. There was a cupboard made, for the time, in length, of the breadth of the nether end of the same chamber, six desks high, full of gilt plate, very sumptuous, and of the newest fashions; and upon the nethermost desk garnished all with plate of clean gold, having two great candlesticks of silver and gilt, most curiously wrought, the workmanship whereof, with the silver, cost three hundred marks, and lights of wax as big as torches burning upon the same. This cupboard was barred in round about that no man might come nigh it; for there was none of the same plate occupied or stirred during this feast, for there was sufficient besides. The plates that hung on the walls to give light in the chamber were of silver and gilt, with lights burning in them, a great fire in the chimney, and all other things necessary for the furniture of so noble a feast.

Now was all things in a readiness and supper

time at hand. My lord's officers caused the trumpets to blow to warn to supper, and the said officers went right discreetly in due order and conducted these noble personages from their chambers unto the chamber of presence where they should sup. And they, being there, caused them to sit down; their service was brought up in such order and abundance, both costly and full of subtleties, with such a pleasant noise of divers instruments of music, that the Frenchmen, as it seemed, were rapt into a heavenly paradise.

Ye must understand that my lord was not there, ne yet come, but they being merry and pleasant with their fare, devising and wondering upon the subtleties. Before the second course, my Lord Cardinal came in among them, booted and spurred, all suddenly, and bade them *proface*[2]; at whose coming they would have risen and given place with much joy. Whom my lord commanded to sit still, and keep their rooms; and straightways, being not shifted of his riding apparel, called for a chair, and sat

[2] *Proface.* An expression of welcome equivalent to Much good may it do you! Mr. Steevens conjectured it to be from the old French expression, '*Bon pron leur face*, which is to be found in Cotgrave *in voce* PROU. This was a happy conjecture of Mr. Steevens, for Mr. Nares has pointed out its true origin in the old Norman-French or Romance language: 'PROUFACE sonhait qui veut dire, bien vous fasse, *proficiat*.' ROQUEFORT. *Glossaire de la Langue Romane.*

himself down in the midst of the table, laughing and being as merry as ever I saw him in all my life. Anon came up the second course, with so many dishes, subtleties, and curious devices, which were above a hundred in number, of so goodly proportion and costly, that I suppose the Frenchmen never saw the like. The wonder was no less than it was worthy in deed. There were castles with images in the same; Paul's church and steeple, in proportion for the quantity as well counterfeited as the painter should have painted it upon a cloth or wall. There were beasts, birds, fowls of divers kinds, and personages, most lively made and counterfeit in dishes; some fighting, as it were with swords, some with guns and crossbows, some vaulting and leaping; some dancing with ladies, some in complete harness, justing with spears, and with many more devices than I am able with my wit [to] describe. Among all, one I noted: there was a chess board subtilely made of spiced plate, with men to the same; and for the good proportion, because that Frenchmen be very expert in that play, my lord gave the same to a gentleman of France, commanding that a case should be made for the same in all haste, to preserve it from perishing in the conveyance thereof into his country. Then my lord took a bowl of gold, which was esteemed of

the value of five hundred marks, filled with hypocras, whereof there was plenty, putting off his cap, said, "I drink to the king my sovereign lord and master, and to the king your master," and therewith drank a good draught. And when he had done, he desired the Grand Master to pledge him cup and all, the which cup he gave him; and so caused all the other lords and gentlemen in other cups to pledge these two royal princes.

Then went cups merrily about, that many of the Frenchmen were fain to be led to their beds. Then went my lord, leaving them sitting still, into his privy chamber to shift him; and making there a very short supper, or rather a small repast, returned again among them into the chamber of presence, using them so nobly, with so loving and familiar countenance and entertainment, that they could not commend him too much.

And whilst they were in communication and other pastimes, all their liveries were served to their chambers. Every chamber had a bason and a ewer of silver, some gilt, and some parcel gilt; and some two great pots of silver, in like manner, and one pot at the least with wine and beer, a bowl or goblet, and a silver pot to drink beer in; a silver candlestick or two, with both white lights and yellow lights [of] three

sizes of wax; and a staff torch; a fine manchet, and a cheat loaf of bread. Thus was every chamber furnished throughout the house, and yet the two cupboards in the two banqueting chambers not once touched. Then being past midnight, as time served they were conveyed to their lodgings, to take their rest for that night. In the morning of the next day, (not early), they rose and heard mass, and dined with my lord, and so departed towards Windsor, and there hunted, delighting much of the castle and college, and in the Order of the Garter. They being departed from Hampton Court, my lord returned again to Westminster, because it was in the midst of the term.

It is not to be doubted, but that the king was privy of all this worthy feast, [and] intended far to exceed the same; (whom I leave until the return of the Frenchmen), who gave a special commandment to all his officers to devise a far [more] sumptuous banquet for the strangers, otherwise than they had at Hampton Court; which was not neglected, but most speedily put in execution with great diligence.

After the return of these strangers from Windsor, which place with the goodly order thereof they much commended, the day approached that they were invited to the court at Greenwich; where first they dined, and after long consultation of the sagest with our

counsellors, and dancing of the rest and other pastimes, the time of supper came on. Then was the banqueting chamber in the tiltyard furnished for the entertainment of these strangers, to the which place they were conveyed by the noblest persons being then in the court, where they both supped and banqueted. But to describe the dishes, the subtleties, the many strange devices and order in the same, I do both lack wit in my gross old head, and cunning in my bowels to declare the wonderful and curious imaginations in the same invented and devised. Yet this ye shall understand: that although it was at Hampton Court marvellous sumptuous, yet did this banquet far exceed the same, as fine gold doth silver in weight and value; and for my part I must needs confess, (which saw them both), that I never saw the like, or read in any story or chronicle of any such feast. In the midst of this banquet, there was tourneying at the barriers (even in the chamber), with lusty gentlemen in gorgeous complete harness, on foot; then was there the like on horseback; and after all this there was the most goodliest disguising or interlude, made in Latin and French, whose apparel was of such exceeding riches, that it passeth my capacity to expound.

This done, then came in such a number of the fair ladies and gentlewomen that bare any bruit

or fame of beauty in all this realm, in the most richest apparel, and devised in divers goodly fashions that all the cunningest tailors could devise to shape or cut, to set forth their beauty, gesture, and the goodly proportion of their bodies: who seemed to all men more angelic, than earthly [creatures] made of flesh and bone;—surely to me, simple soul, it seemed inestimable to be described, and so I think it was to other of a more higher judgment,—with whom these gentlemen of France danced until another mask came in of noble gentlemen, who danced and masked with these fair ladies and gentlewomen, every man as his fantasy served [him]. This done, and the maskers departed, there came in another mask of ladies so gorgeously apparelled in costly garments, that I dare not presume to take upon me to make thereof any declaration, lest I should rather deface than beautify them, therefore I leave it untouched. These lady maskers took each of them a French gentleman to dance and mask with them. Ye shall understand that these lady maskers spake good French, which delighted much these gentlemen, to hear these ladies speak to them in their own tongue.

Thus was this night occupied and consumed from five of the clock until two or three after midnight; at which time it was convenient for

all estates to draw to their rest. And thus every man departed whither they had most relief. Then as nothing either health, wealth, or pleasure, can always endure, so ended this triumphant banquet, the which in the morning seemed to all the beholders but as a fantastical dream.

After all this solemn cheer, at a day appointed they prepared them to return with bag and baggage. Then, as to the office of all honourable persons doth appertain, [they] resorted in good order to the court, to take their leave of the king, and other noblemen then being there: to whom the king committed his princely commendations to the king their master, and thanked them of their pains and travel, and after long communication with the most honourable of the embassy, he bad them adieu.

[They were] assigned by the council to repair to my Lord Cardinal for to receive the king's most noble reward, wherefore they repaired to my lord, and taking of their leave, they received every man the king's reward after this sort; every honourable person in estimation had most commonly plate, to the value of three or four hundred pounds, and some more, and some less, besides other great gifts received at the king's hands before; as rich gowns, horses, or goodly geldings of great value and goodness; and some had weighty chains of fine gold, with divers

other gifts, which I cannot now call to my remembrance; but this I know, that the least of them all had a sum of crowns of gold: the worst page among them had twenty crowns for his part: and thus they (nobly rewarded), departed. And my lord, after humble commendations had to the French king, bad them adieu. And the next day they conveyed all their stuff and furniture unto the seaside, accompanied with lusty young gentlemen of England: but what praise or commendation they made in their country at their return, in good faith, I cannot tell you, for I never heard any thing thereof.

Then began other matters to brew and take place that occupied all men's heads with divers imaginations, whose stomachs were therewith full filled without any perfect digestion. The long hid and secret love between the king and Mistress Anne Boleyn began to break out into every man's ears. The matter was then by the king disclosed to my Lord Cardinal; whose persuasion to the contrary, made to the king upon his knees, could not effect: the king was so amorously affectionate, that will bare place, and high discretion banished for the time[3]. My lord,

[3] 'Mademoiselle de Boulan à la fin y est venue, et l'a le Roy logée en fort beau logis, qu'il a fait bien reconstruer tout auprès du sien, et luy est la cour faicte ordinairement tous les jours plus grosse que de long temps ne fut faicte à la Royne.'

Lettre de l'Evesque de Bayonne.

provoked by the king to declare his wise opinion in this matter for the furtherance of his desired affects, who thought it not meet for him alone to wade too far, to give his hasty judgment or advice in so weighty a matter, desired of the king license to ask counsel of men of ancient study, and of famous learning, both in the laws divine and civil. That obtained, he by his legatine authority sent out his commission unto all the bishops of this realm, and for other that were either exactly learned in any of the said laws, or else had in any estimation for their prudent counsel and judgment in princely affairs of long experience.

Then assembled these prelates before my Lord Cardinal at his place in Westminster, with many other famous and notable clerks of both the Universities (Oxford and Cambridge), and also divers out of colleges and cathedral churches of this realm, renowned and allowed learned and of witty discretion in the determination of doubtful questions. Then was the matter of the king's case debated, reasoned and argued; consulting from day to day, and time to time; that it was to men learned a goodly hearing; but in conclusion, it seemed me, by the departing of the ancient fathers of the laws, that they departed with one judgment contrary to the expectation of the principal parties. I heard

the opinion of some of the most famous persons, among that sort, report, that the king's case was so obscure and doubtful for any learned man to discuss; the points therein were so dark to be credited that it was very hard to have any true understanding or intelligence. And therefore they departed without any resolution or judgment. Then in this assembly of bishops it was thought most expedient that the king should first send out his commissioners into all the Universities of Christendom, as well here in England as in foreign countries and regions, to have among them his grace's case argued substantially, and to bring with them from thence the very definition of their opinions in the same, under the seals of every several University. Thus was their determination for this time; and thereupon agreed, that commissioners were incontinent appointed and sent forth about this matter into several Universities, as some to Oxford, some to Cambridge, some to Louvain, some to Paris, some to Orleans, some to Bologna, and some to Padua, and some to other. Although these commissioners had the travail, yet was the charges the king's; the which was no small sums of money, and all went out of the king's coffers into foreign regions. For as I heard it reported of credible persons (as it seemed indeed), that besides the great charges of the commissioners, there was inestimable sums of

money given to the famous clerks to choke them, and in especial to such as had the governance and custody of their Universities' seals[4]. Insomuch as they agreed, not only in opinions, but also obtained of them the Universities' seals, (the which obtained), they returned home again furnished for their purpose. At whose return there was no small joy made of the principal parties. Insomuch as the commissioners were not only ever after in great estimation, but also most liberally advanced and rewarded, far beyond their worthy deserts. Notwithstanding, they prospered, and the matter went still forward, having then (as they thought), a sure foundation to ground them upon.

These proceedings being once declared to my Lord Cardinal, [he] sent again for all the bishops, whom he made privy of the expedition of the commissioners; and for the very proof thereof he showed them the opinions of the several Universities in writing under the Universities seals[5]. These matters being thus brought to

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[4] It is a question of fact which has been warmly debated, whether the suffrages of the Universities in Henry's favour were purchased by money. It does not seem very necessary that *we* should enter into this dispute. But any one who wishes so to do, may consult *Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation*, Vol. iii. p. 401, Appendix. *Harmer's Specimen of Errors*, p. 7. *Fiddes's Life of Wolsey*, p. 420. *Poli Epistolæ*, Vol. i. p. 238. A. D. 1744. *W.*

[5] Eight of these determinations soon after were printed in one volume, with a long Discourse in support of the judgments contained in them, under the following title: "The Determinations

pass, they went again to consultation how these matters should be ordered to the purpose. It was then thought good and concluded, by the advice of them all, that the king should (to avoid all ambiguities), send unto the pope a legation with the instruments, declaring the opinions of the Universities under their seals; to the which it was thought good that all these prelates in this assembly should join with the king in this legation, making intercession and suit to the pope for advice and judgment in this great and weighty matter; and if the pope would not directly consent to the same request, that then the ambassadors should farther require of him a commission to be directed (under lead[6]), to establish a court judicial in England, (** **** *****) directed to my Lord Cardinal, and unto the Cardinal Campeggio, (who was then Bishop of Bath), although he was a stranger, which [bishopric] the king gave him at such time as he was the pope's ambassador here in England), to hear and determine according to the just judg-

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of the moste famous and moste excellent Universities of Italy and Fraunce, that it is so unlefull for a man to marry his Brother's Wyfe, that the Pope hath no power to dispence therewith: imprinted by Thomas Berthelet the viiith day of Novembre, 1531." They were also published in Latin: in which language they are exhibited by Bishop Burnet in his *Hist. of the Reformation*, Vol. i. book ii. No. 31. Records. *W.*

[6] i. e. the *Bulla* or Papal seal. The passage marked with * contains three words which I could not decipher.

ment of their conscience. The which after long and great suit, they obtained of the pope his commission. This done and achieved, they made return into England, making report unto the king of their expedition, trusting that his grace's pleasure and purpose should now be presently brought to pass, considering the estate of the judges, who were the Cardinal of England and Campeggio, being both his highness's subjects in effect.

Long was the desire, and greater was the hope on all sides, expecting the coming of the legation and commission from Rome, yet at length it came. And after the arrival of the Legate Campeggio with this solemn commission in England, he being sore vexed with the gout, was constrained by force thereof to make a long journey or ever he came to London; who should have been most solemnly received at Blackheath, and so with great triumph conveyed to London; but his glory was such, that he would in nowise be entertained with any such pomp or vainglory, who suddenly came by water in a wherry to his own house without Temple Bar, called then Bath Place, which was furnished for him with all manner of stuff and implements of my lord's provision; where he continued and lodged during his abode here in England.

Then after some deliberation, his commission

understood, read, and perceived it was by the council determined, that the king, and the queen his wife, should be lodged at Bridewell. And that in the Black Friars a certain place should be appointed where as the king and the queen might most conveniently repair to the court, there to be erected and kept for the disputation and determination of the king's case, where as these two legates sat in judgment as notable judges; before whom the king and the queen were duly cited and summoned to appear. Which was the strangest and newest sight and device that ever was read or heard in any history or chronicle in any region; that a king and a queen [should] be convented and constrained by process compellatory to appear in any court as common persons, within their own realm or dominion, to abide the judgment and decrees of their own subjects, having the royal diadem and prerogative thereof. Is it not a world to consider the desire of wilful princes, when they fully be bent and inclined to fulfil their voluptuous appetites, against the which no reasonable persuasions will suffice; little or nothing weighing or regarding the dangerous sequel that doth ensue as well to themselves as to their realm and subjects. And above all things, there is no one thing that causeth them to be more wilful than carnal desire and voluptuous affection of

foolish love. The experience is plain, in this case both manifest and evident, for what surmised inventions have been invented, what laws have been enacted, what noble and ancient monasteries overthrown and defaced, what diversities of religious opinions have risen, what executions have been committed, how many famous and notable clerks have suffered death, what charitable foundations were perverted from the relief of the poor, unto profane uses, and what alterations of good and wholesome ancient laws and customs hath been caused by will and wilful desire of the prince, almost to the subversion and dissolution of this noble realm. All men may understand what hath chanced to this region; the proof thereof hath taught all us Englishmen a common experience, the more is the pity, and is to all good men very lamentable to be considered. If eyes be not blind men may see, if ears be not stopped they may hear, and if pity be not exiled they may lament the sequel of this pernicious and inordinate carnal love. The plague whereof is not ceased (although this love lasted but a while), which our Lord quench; and take from us his indignation! *Quia peccavimus cum patribus nostris, et injuste egimus, &c.*

Ye shall understand, as I said before, that there was a court erected in the Black Friars in London, where these two cardinals sat for

judges. Now will I set you out the manner and order of the court there. First, there was a court placed with tables, benches, and bars, like a consistory, a place judicial (for the judges to sit on). There was also a cloth of estate under the which sat the king: and the queen sat some distance beneath the king: under the judges' feet sat the officers of the court. The chief scribe there was Dr. Stephens[7], (who was after Bishop of Winchester); the apparitor was one Cooke, most commonly called Cooke of Winchester. Then sat there within the said court, directly before the king and the judges, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Doctor Warham, and all the other bishops. Then at both the ends, with a bar made for them, the counsellors on both sides. The doctors for the king were Doctor Sampson, that was after Bishop of Chi-

[7] Doctor *Stephen* Gardiner, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, at this time in great estimation with Wolsey. In letters and other documents of this period he is often called Doctor *Stevens*. Mr. Grainger in the third vol. of Bishop Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, p. 385, Appendix, intimates that this was a colloquial vulgarism; *vulgarly*, as Stephen Gardiner was Mr. *Stevyns*, in Wolsey's Letter." But it is questionable, I think, whether this is the true account of that name. The bishop himself, in his Declaration of his Articles against George Joye, A. D. 1546, fol. 3. b. of the 4to edition, thus speaks of it, "a booke, wherein he wrote, how Doctor *Stevens* (by *whiche name* I was *then* called) had deceyved him."

In Doctor Barnes' account of his examination before the bishops at Westminster, he calls Gardiner "Doctor Stephen then secretary."

chester, and Doctor Bell, who after was Bishop of Worcester, with divers other. The proctors on the king's part were Doctor Peter, who was after made the king's chief secretary, and Doctor Tregonell, and divers other.

Now on the other side stood the counsel for the queen, Doctor Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Doctor Standish, some time a Grey Friar, and then Bishop of St. Asaph in Wales, two notable clerks in divinity, and in especial the Bishop of Rochester, a very godly man and a devout person, who after suffered death at Tower Hill; the which was greatly lamented through all the foreign Universities of Christendom. There was also another ancient doctor, called, as I remember, Doctor Ridley, a very small person in stature, but surely a great and an excellent clerk in divinity.

The court being thus furnished and ordered, the judges commanded the crier to proclaim silence; then was the judges' commission, which they had of the pope, published and read openly before all the audience there assembled. That done, the crier called the king, by the name of "King Henry of England, come into the court, &c." With that the king answered and said, "Here, my lords!" Then he called also the queen, by the name of "Katherine Queen of England, come into the court, &c.;" who made

no answer to the same, but rose up incontinent out of her chair, where as she sat, and because she could not come directly to the king for the distance which severed them, she took pain to go about unto the king, kneeling down at his feet in the sight of all the court and assembly, to whom she said[8] in effect, in broken English, as followeth:

"Sir," quoth she, "I beseech you for all the loves that hath been between us, and for the love of God, let me have justice and right, take

[8] The reader may consult Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. iii. p. 46—48. The bishop affirms positively that the king did not appear personally, but by proxy; and that the queen withdrew after reading a protest against the competency of her judges. "And from this it is clear (says the bishop), that the speeches that the historians have made for them are all plain falsities." It is easy to contradict the confident affirmation of the historian upon the authority of a document published by himself in his Records, i. 78. It is a letter from the king to his agents, where he says: "At which time both we and the queen appeared in person, and they minding to proceed further in the cause, the queen would no longer make her abode to hear what the judges would fully descern, but incontinently departed out of the court; wherefore she was thrice preconnisate, and called efsoons to return and appear; which she refusing to do, was denounced by the judges *contumax*, and a citation decerned for her appearance on Friday." Which is corroborated also by *Fox's Acts*, p. 958. Indeed the testimony for the personal appearance of the king before the cardinals is surprisingly powerful; even though we do not go beyond Cavendish, and the other ordinary historians. But in addition to these, Dr. Wordsworth has produced the authority of William Thomas, Clerk of the Council in the reign of King Edward VI, a well informed writer; who, in a professed Apology for Henry VIII, extant in MS. in the Lambeth and some other libraries, speaking of this affair affirms, "that the Cardinal (Campeggio) caused the king as a private party in person to appear before him, and the Lady Katharine both." P. 31.

of me some pity and compassion, for I am a poor woman and a stranger born out of your dominion, I have here no assured friend, and much less indifferent counsel; I flee to you as to the head of justice within this realm. Alas! Sir, wherein have I offended you, or what occasion of displeasure? Have I designed against your will and pleasure; intending (as I perceive) to put me from you? I take God and all the world to witness, that I have been to you a true humble and obedient wife, ever conformable to your will and pleasure, that never said or did any thing to the contrary thereof, being always well pleased and contented with all things wherein you had any delight or dalliance, whether it were in little or much, I never grudged in word or countenance, or showed a visage or spark of discontentation. I loved all those whom ye loved only for your sake, whether I had cause or no; and whether they were my friends or my enemies. This twenty years I have been your true wife or more, and by me ye have had divers children, although it hath pleased God to call them out of this world, which hath been no default in me.

"And when ye had me at the first, I take God to be my judge, I was a true maid without touch of man; and whether it be true or no, I put it to your conscience. If there be any just

cause by the law that ye can allege against me, either of dishonesty or any other impediment to banish and put me from you, I am well content to depart to my great shame and dishonour; and if there be none, then here I most lowly beseech you let me remain in my former estate, and receive justice at your hands. The king your father was in the time of his reign of such estimation thorough the world for his excellent wisdom, that he was accounted and called of all men the second Solomon; and my father Ferdinand, King of Spain, who was esteemed to be one of the wittiest princes that reigned in Spain, many years before, were both wise and excellent kings in wisdom and princely behaviour. It is not therefore to be doubted, but that they elected and gathered as wise counsellors about them as to their high discretions was thought meet. Also, as me seemeth, there was in those days as wise, as well learned men, and men of as good judgment as be at this present in both realms, who thought then the marriage between you and me good and lawful. Therefore it is a wonder to hear what new inventions are now invented against me, that never intended but honesty. And cause me to stand to the order and judgment of this new court, wherein ye may do me much wrong, if ye intend any cruelty; for ye may condemn me for lack of suffi-

cient answer, having no indifferent counsel, but such as be assigned me, with whose wisdom and learning I am not acquainted. Ye must consider that they cannot be indifferent counsellors for my part which be your subjects, and taken out of your own council before, wherein they be made privy, and dare not, for your displeasure, disobey your will and intent, being once made privy thereto. Therefore I most humbly require you, in the way of charity, and for the love of God, who is the just judge, to spare me the extremity of this new court, until I may be advertised what way and order my friends in Spain will advise me to take. And if ye will not extend to me so much indifferent favour, your pleasure then be fulfilled, and to God I commit my cause[9]!"

And with that she rose up, making a low courtesy to the king, and so departed from thence. [Many] supposed that she would have resorted again to her former place; but she took her way straight out of the house, leaning (as she was wont always to do) upon the arm of

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[9] Hall has given a different report of this speech of the queen's, which he says was made *in French*, and translated by him, as well as he could, from notes taken by Cardinal Campeggio's secretary. In his version she accuses Wolsey with being the first mover of her troubles, and reproaches him, in bitter terms, of pride and voluptuousness; such harsh language could hardly deserve the praise '*modeste tamen eam locutum fuisse*,' given by Campeggio.

her General Receiver, called Master Griffith. And the king being advertised of her departure, commanded the crier to call her again, who called her by the name of "Katherine Queen of England, come into the court, &c." With that quoth Master Griffith, "*Madam, ye be called again.*" "On, on," quoth she, "it maketh no matter, for it is no indifferent court for me, therefore I will not tarry. Go on your ways." And thus she departed out of that court, without any farther answer at that time, or at any other, nor would never appear at any other court after.

The king perceiving that she was departed in such sort, calling to his grace's memory all her lament words that she had pronounced before him and all the audience, said thus in effect: "For as much," quoth he, "as the queen is gone, I will, in her absence, declare unto you all my lords here presently assembled, she hath been to me as true, as obedient, and as conformable a wife as I could in my fantasy wish or desire. She hath all the virtuous qualities that ought to be in a woman of her dignity, or in any other of baser estate. Surely she is also a noble woman born, if nothing were in her, but only her conditions will well declare the same." With that quoth my Lord Cardinal, "Sir, I most humbly beseech your highness to declare me before all

this audience, whether I have been the chief inventor[1] or first mover of this matter unto your majesty; for I am greatly suspected of all men herein." "My Lord Cardinal," quoth the king, "I can well excuse you herein. Marry (quoth he), ye have been rather against me in attempting or setting forth thereof. And to put you all out of doubt, I will declare unto you the special cause that moved me hereunto; it was a certain scrupulosity that pricked my conscience upon divers words that were spoken at a certain time by the Bishop of Bayonne, the French King's Ambassador[2], who had been here long upon the debating for the conclusion of a marriage to be concluded between the princess our daughter Mary, and the Duke of Orleans, the French king's second son.

And upon the resolution and determination thereof, he desired respite to advertise the king his master thereof, whether our daughter Mary should be legitimate, in respect of the marriage which was sometime between the queen here, and my brother the late Prince Arthur. These words were so conceived within my scrupulous

[1] See *Nevc's Animadversions on Phillips's Life of Cardinal Pole*, p. 62.

[2] Nothing of this kind is to be found in the journal of this embassy, or in the letters of the bishop and his companions, which have been preserved, and many of which have been published by *Le Grand, Histoire du Divorce de Henri VIII.*

conscience, that it bred a doubt within my breast, which doubt pricked, vexed, and troubled so my mind, and so disquieted me, that I was in great doubt of God's indignation; which (as seemed me), appeared right well; much the rather for that he hath not sent me any issue male; for all such issue male as I have received of the queen died incontinent after they were born; so that I doubt the punishment of God in that behalf. Thus being troubled in waves of a scrupulous conscience, and partly in despair of any issue male by her, it drave me at last to consider the estate of this realm, and the danger it stood in for lack of issue male to succeed me in this imperial dignity. I thought it good therefore in relief of the weighty burden of scrupulous conscience, and the quiet estate of this noble realm, to attempt the law therein, and whether I might take another wife in case that my first copulation with this gentlewoman were not lawful; which I intend not for any carnal concupiscence, ne for any displeasure or mislike of the queen's person or age, with whom I could be as well content to continue during my life, if our marriage may stand with God's laws, as with any woman alive; in which point consisteth all this doubt that we go now about to try by the learned wisdom and judgment of you our prelates and

pastors of this realm here assembled for that purpose; to whose conscience and judgment I have committed the charge according to the which (God willing), we will be right well contented to submit ourself, to obey the same for our part. Wherein after I once perceived my conscience wounded with the doubtful case herein, I moved first this matter in confession to you, my Lord of Lincoln[3], my ghostly father. And for as much as then yourself were in some doubt to give me counsel, moved me to ask farther counsel of all you my lords; wherein I

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[3] "In a Manuscript Life of Sir Thomas More, written not many years after Longland's death, this account is given. 'I have heard Dr. Draycot, that was his (Longland's) chaplain and chancellor say, that he once told the bishop what rumour ran upon him in that matter; and desired to know of him the very truth. Who answered, that in very deed he did not break the matter after that sort, as is said: but the king brake the matter to him first: and never left urging him until he had won him to give his consent. Of which his doings he did forethink himself, and repented afterward.' MSS. Coll. Eman. Cantab." Baker's Notes on *Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation*; in Burnet, Vol. iii. p. 400, Appendix. The same Life is among the MSS. in the Lambeth Library, No. 827, (see fol. 12), and, I have reason to think, was composed about the year 1556, and by Nicolas Harpsfield. From these concurrent testimonies it should appear, that the charge which has been often urged against Wolsey, that it was through his intrigues that Longland first suggested his scruples to the king, is unfounded. *W.*

Wolsey was at the time loudly proclaimed as the instigator of the divorce, and though he denied it upon some occasions, he admitted it on others; but Cardinal Pole asserts that it was first suggested by certain divines whom Anne Boleyn sent to him for that purpose. It is remarkable that he says this when writing to the king, and would surely not have ventured to say so if he had not had good grounds for the assertion.

moved you first my Lord of Canterbury, axing your license, (for as much [as] you were our metropolitan) to put this matter in question; and so I did of all you my lords, to the which ye have all granted by writing under all your seals, the which I have here to be showed." "That is truth if it please your highness," quoth the Bishop of Canterbury, "I doubt not but all my brethren here present will affirm the same." "No, Sir, not I," quoth the Bishop of Rochester, "ye have not my consent thereto." "No! ha' the!" quoth the king, "look here upon this, is not this your hand and seal?" and showed him the instrument with seals. "No forsooth, Sire," quoth the Bishop of Rochester, "it is not my hand nor seal!" To that quoth the king to my Lord of Canterbury, "Sir, how say *ye*, is it not his hand and seal?" "Yes, Sir," quoth my Lord of Canterbury. "That is not so," quoth the Bishop of Rochester, "for indeed you were in hand with me to have both my hand and seal, as other of my lords had already done; but then I said to you, that I would never consent to no such act, for it were much against my conscience; nor my hand and seal should never be seen at any such instrument, God willing, with much more matter touching the same communication between us." "You say truth," quoth the Bishop of Canterbury, "such words

ye said unto me; but at the last ye were fully persuaded that I should for you subscribe your name, and put to a seal myself, and ye would allow the same." "All which words and matter," quoth the Bishop of Rochester, "under your correction my lord, and supportation of this noble audience, there is no thing more untrue." "Well, well," quoth the king, "it shall make no matter; we will not stand with you in argument herein, for you are but one man." And with that the court was adjourned until the next day of this session.

The next court day the cardinals sat there again, at which time the counsel on both sides were there present. The king's counsel alleged the marriage not good from the beginning, because of the carnal knowledge committed between Prince Arthur her first husband, the king's brother, and her. This matter being very sore touched and maintained by the king's counsel; and the contrary defended by such as took upon them to be on that other part with the good queen: and to prove the same carnal copulation they alleged many coloured reasons and similitudes of truth. It was answered again negatively on the other side, by which it seemed that all their former allegations [were] very doubtful to be tried, so that it was said that no man could know the truth. "Yes," quoth the

Bishop of Rochester, "*Ego nosco veritatem*, I know the truth." "How know you the truth?" quoth my Lord Cardinal." "Forsooth, my lord," quoth he, "*Ego sum professor veritatis*, I know that God is truth itself, nor he never spake but truth; who saith, *quos Deus conjunxit, homo non separet*. And forasmuch as this marriage was made and joined by God to a good intent, I say that I know the truth; the which cannot be broken or loosed by the power of man upon no feigned occasion." "So much doth all faithful men know," quoth my Lord Cardinal, "as well as you. Yet this reason is not sufficient in this case; for the king's counsel doth allege divers presumptions, to prove the marriage not good at the beginning, *ergo*, say they, it was not joined by God at the beginning, and therefore it is not lawful; for God ordaineth nor joineth nothing without a just order. Therefore it is not to be doubted but that these presumptions must be true, as it plainly appeareth; and nothing can be more true in case these allegations cannot be avoided; therefore to say that the matrimony was joined of God, ye must prove it farther than by that text which ye have alleged for your matter: for ye must first avoid the presumptions." "Then," quoth one Doctor Ridley, "it is a shame and a great dishonour to this honourable presence, that any such presumptions should

be alleged in this open court, which be to all good and honest men most detestable to be rehearsed." "What," quoth my Lord Cardinal, "*Domine Doctor, magis reverenter.*" "No, no, my lord," quoth he, "there belongeth no reverence to be given to these abominable presumptions; for an unreverent tale would be unreverently answered." And there they left, and proceeded no farther at that time.

Thus this court passed from session to session, and day to day, in so much that a certain day the king sent for my lord at the breaking up one day of the court to come to him into Bridewell. And to accomplish his commandment he went unto him, and being there with him in communication in his grace's privy chamber from eleven until twelve of the clock and past at noon, my lord came out and departed from the king and took his barge at the Black Friars, and so went to his house at Westminster. The Bishop of Carlisle being with him in his barge said unto him, (wiping the sweat from his face), "Sir," quoth he, "it is a very hot day." "Yea," quoth my Lord Cardinal, "if ye had been as well chafed as I have been within this hour, ye would say it were very hot." And as soon as he came home to his house at Westminster, he went incontinent to his naked bed, where he had not lain fully the space of two hours, but that my

Lord of Wiltshire came to speak with him of a message from the king. My lord, having understanding of his coming, caused him to be brought unto his bed's side; and he being there, showed him the king's pleasure was, that he should incontinent (accompanied with the other Cardinal) repair unto the queen at Bridewell, into her chamber, to persuade her by their wisdoms, advising her to surrender the whole matter unto the king's hands by her own will and consent; which should be much better to her honour than to stand to the trial of law and to be condemned, which would seem much to her slander and defamation. To fulfil the king's pleasure, my lord [said] he was ready, and would prepare him to go thither out of hand, saying farther to my Lord of Wiltshire, "Ye and other my lords of the council, which be near unto the king, are not a little to blame and misadvised to put any such fantasies into his head, whereby ye are the causes of great trouble to all the realm; and at length get you but small thanks either of God or of the world," with many other vehement words and sentences that were like to ensue of this matter, which words caused my Lord of Wiltshire to water his eyes, kneeling all this while by my lord's bedside, and in conclusion departed. And then my lord rose up, and made him ready, taking his barge, and went

straight to Bath Place to the other cardinal; and so went together unto Bridewell, directly to the queen's lodging: and they, being in her chamber of presence, showed to the gentleman usher that they came to speak with the queen's grace. The gentleman usher advertised the queen thereof incontinent. With that she came out of her privy chamber with a skein of white thread about her neck, into the chamber of presence, where the cardinals were giving of attendance upon her coming. At whose coming quoth she, "Alack, my lords, I am very sorry to cause you to attend upon me; what is your pleasure with me?" "If it please you," quoth my Lord Cardinal, "to go into your privy chamber, we will show you the cause of our coming." "My lord," quoth she, "if you have any thing to say, speak it openly before all these folks; for I fear nothing that ye can say or allege against me, but that I would all the world should both hear and see it; therefore I pray you speak your minds openly." Then began my lord to speak to her in Latin. "Nay, good my lord," quoth she, "speak to me in English I beseech you; although I understand Latin." "Forsooth then," quoth my lord, "Madam, if it please your grace, we come both to know your mind, how ye be disposed to do in this matter between the king and you, and also to declare secretly our opi-

nions and our counsel unto you, which we have intended of very zeal and obedience that we bear to your grace." "My lords, I thank you then," quoth she, "of your good wills; but to make answer to your request I cannot so suddenly, for I was set among my maidens at work, thinking full little of any such matter, wherein there needeth a longer deliberation, and a better head than mine, to make answer to so noble wise men as ye be; I had need of good counsel in this case, which toucheth me so near; and for any counsel or friendship that I can find in England, [they] are nothing to my purpose or profit. Think you, I pray you, my lords, will any Englishmen counsel or be friendly unto me against the king's pleasure, they being his subjects? Nay forsooth, my lords! and for my counsel in whom I do intend to put my trust be not here; they be in Spain, in my native country. Alas, my lords! I am a poor woman lacking both wit and understanding sufficiently to answer such approved wise men as ye be both, in so weighty a matter. I pray you to extend your good and indifferent minds in your authority unto me, for I am a simple woman, destitute and barren of friendship and counsel here in a foreign region: and as for your counsel I will not refuse but be glad to hear."

And with that she took my lord by the hand

and led him into her privy chamber, with the other cardinal; where they were in long communication: we, in the other chamber, might sometime hear the queen speak very loud, but what it was we could not understand. The communication ended, the cardinals departed and went directly to the king, making to him relation of their talk with the queen; and after resorted home to their houses to supper.

Thus went this strange case forward from court-day to court-day, until it came to the judgment, so that every man expected the judgment to be given upon the next court-day[4]. At which day the king came thither, and sat within a gallery against the door of the same that looked unto the judges where they sat, whom he might both see and hear speak, to hear what judgment they would give in his suit; at which time all their proceedings were first openly read in Latin. And that done, the king's learned counsel at the bar, called fast for judgment. With that, quoth Cardinal Campeggio, "I[5] will give no judgment herein until I have made relation unto the pope of all our proceedings, whose counsel and commandment in this high case I

[4] July, 1529.

[5] This determination of Campeggio was in consequence of secret instructions from the pope (unknown to Wolsey), at the instance of the emperor, who had prevailed upon the pontiff to adjourn the court and remove the cause to Rome.

will observe. The case is too high and notable, known throughout the world, for us to give any hasty judgment, considering the highness of the persons and the doubtful allegations; and also whose commissioners we be, under whose authority we sit here. It were therefore reason, that we should make our chief head [of] counsel in the same, before we proceed to judgment definitive. I come not so far to please any man, for fear, meed, or favour, be he king or any other potentate. I have no such respect to the persons that I will offend my conscience. I will not for favour or displeasure of any high estate or mighty prince do that thing that should be against the law of God. I am an old man, both sick and impotent, looking daily for death. What should it then avail me to put my soul in the danger of God's displeasure, to my utter damnation, for the favour of any prince or high estate in this world? My coming and being here is only to see justice ministered according to my conscience, as I thought thereby the matter either good or bad. And forasmuch as I do understand, and having perceivance by the allegations and negations in this matter laid for both the parties, that the truth in this case is very doubtful to be known, and also that the party defendant will make no answer thereunto, [but] doth rather appeal from us, supposing that we

be not indifferent, considering the king's high dignity and authority within this his own realm which he hath over his own subjects; and we being his subjects, and having our livings and dignities in the same, she thinketh that we cannot minister true and indifferent justice for fear of his displeasure. Therefore, to avoid all these ambiguities and obscure doubts, I intend not to damn my soul for no prince or potentate alive. I will therefore, God willing, wade no farther in this matter, unless I have the just opinion and judgment, with the assent of the pope, and such other of his counsel as hath more experience and learning in such doubtful laws than I have. Wherefore I will adjourn this court for this time, according to the order of the court in Rome, from whence this court and jurisdiction is derived. And if we should go further than our commission doth warrant us, it were folly and vain, and much to our slander and blame; and [we] might be accounted for the same breakers of the order of the higher court from whence we have (as I said) our original authorities." With that the court was dissolved, and no more pleas holden.

With that stepped forth the Duke of Suffolk[6]

[6] These proceedings led the way to the next great step in the progress of the Reformation, the renunciation of the pope's au-

from the king, and by his commandment spake these words, with a stout and an hault counte-

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thority, and the establishment of the regal supremacy. The following account, from an unpublished treatise, of the manner in which these questions were first brought to the king's mind (whether authentic or not) may not be unacceptable to my readers.

"Now unto that you say, that because Pope Clement would not dispense with his second matrimonie, his majestie extirped out of England the papal authoritie, a thinge of most auncient and godly reverence as you take it, I aunsweare that after the kinges highness had so appeared in person before the Cardinal Campegio, one of the princes of his realm, named the *Duke of Suffolk*, a great wise man, and of more familiaritie with the kinge than any other person, asked his majestie, 'how this matter might come to passe, that a prince in his own realme should so humble himself before the feet of a vile, strange, vitious priest,' (for Campegio there in England demeaned himself in very deed most carnally — —). Whereunto the king aunswered, "he could not tell; but only that it seemed unto him, the spiritual men ought to judge spiritual matters: and yet as you saye (sayd the king) me seemeth there should be somewhat in it, and I would right gladly understand, why and how, were it not that I would be loth to appeare more curious than other princes." "Why, sir (sayd the duke), your majestie may cause the matter to be discussed secretly by your learned men, without any rumour at all." "Very well (sayd the kinge), and so it shall be." And thus inspired of God, called he diverse of his trusty and great doctours unto him; charging them distinctly to examine, *what lawe of God should directe so carnal a man as Campegio, under the name of spiritual, to judge a king in his owne realme.* According unto whose commandment, these doctors resorting together into an appointed place, disputed this matter *large et stricte*, as the case required. And as the blacke by the white is knowen, so by conferring the oppositions together, it appeared that the evangelical lawe varied much from the canon lawes in this pointe. So that in effect, because two contraries cannot stand *in uno subjecto, eodem casu et tempore*, they were constrained to recurre unto the kinges majesties pleasure, to knowe whether of these two lawes should be preferred: who smiling at the ignorance of so fonde a question aunsweared, that the Gospell of Christ ought to be the absolute rule unto all others; commanding them therefore to followe the same, without regard either to

nance, "It was never merry in England," (quoth he), "whilst we had cardinals among us:" which words were set forth both with such a vehement countenance, that all men marvelled what he intended; to whom no man made answer. Then the duke spake again in great despight. To the which words my Lord Cardinal, perceiving his vehemency, soberly made answer and said, "Sir, of all men within this realm, ye have least cause to dispraise or be offended with cardinals: for if I, simple cardinal, had not been, you should have had at this present no head upon your shoulders, wherein you should have a tongue to make any such report in despight of us, who intend you no manner of displeasure; nor have we given you any occasion with such despight to be revenged with your hault words. I would ye knew it, my lord, that I and my brother here intendeth the king and his realm as much honour, wealth, and quietness, as you or any other, of what estate or degree soever he be, within this realm; and would as gladly accomplish his lawful desire as the poorest subject he hath. But, my lord, I pray you, show me what ye would

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the civile, canon, or whatsoever other lawe. And here began the quicke: for these doctours had no sooner taken the Gospel for their absolute rule, but they found this popish authoritie over the kinges and princes of this earth to be usurped." *William Thomas's Apology for King Henry the Eighth*, written A. D. 1547. p. 34. Lambeth Library. MSS. No. 464. *W.*

do if ye were the king's commissioner in a foreign region, having a weighty matter to treat upon: and the conclusion being doubtful thereof, would ye not advertise the king's majesty or ever ye went through with the same? Yes, yes, my lord, I doubt not. Therefore I would ye should banish your hasty malice and despight out of your heart, and consider that we be but commissioners for a time, and can, ne may not, by virtue of our commission proceed to judgment, without the knowledge and consent of the chief head of our authority, and having his consent to the same; which is the pope. Therefore we do no less ne otherwise than our warrant will bear us; and if any man will be offended with us therefore, he is an unwise man. Wherefore my lord, hold your peace, and pacify yourself, and frame your tongue like a man of honour and of wisdom, and not to speak so quickly or reproachfully by your friends; for ye know best what friendship[7] ye have received at my hands,

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[7] The history and occasion of this great obligation of the Duke of Suffolk to the cardinal, who plainly intimates that but for his interposition the duke must have lost his life, does not appear to be known to the historians. See *Fiddes's Life of Wolsey*. p. 454. *W.*

A writer in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1755 (Dr. Pegge), who appears to have paid much attention to the Cardinal Wolsey's history, suggests that Wolsey was the means of abating the anger of Henry at the marriage of Suffolk with his sister Mary Queen

the which I yet never revealed to no person alive before now, neither to my glory, ne to your dishonour." And therewith the duke gave over the matter without any words to reply, and so departed and followed after the king, who was gone into Bridewell at the beginning of the duke's first words.

This matter continued long thus, and my Lord Cardinal was in displeasure with the king, for that the matter in his suit took no better success, the fault whereof was ascribed much to my lord, notwithstanding my lord excused him always by his commission, which gave him no farther authority to proceed in judgment, without knowledge of the pope, who reserved the same to himself.

At the last they were advertised by their post that the pope would take deliberation in respect of judgment until his courts were opened, which should not be before Bartholomew tide next. The king considering the time to be very long or the matter should be determined, thought it good to send a new embassy to the pope, to persuade him to show such honourable favour

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of France, which might have been made a treasonable offence. A letter from Mary to Wolsey, dated March 22, 1515, after her marriage with Suffolk, which is still extant in the Cotton Collection, gives some probability to this conjecture.

unto his grace, that the matter might be sooner ended than it was likely to be, or else at the next court in Rome, to rule the matter over, according to the king's request.

To this embassy was appointed Doctor Stephens[8], then secretary, that after was made Bishop of Winchester. Who went thither, and there tarried until the latter end of summer, as ye shall hear after.

The king commanded the queen to be removed out of the court, and sent to another place; and his highness rode in his progress, with Mistress Anne Boleyn in his company, all the green season.

It was so that the Cardinal Campeggio made suit to be discharged, that he might return again to Rome. And it chanced that the secretary, who was the king's ambassador to the pope, was returned home from Rome; whereupon it was determined that the Cardinal Campeggio should resort to the king at Grafton in Northamptonshire, and that my Lord Cardinal should accompany him thither, where Campeggio should take his leave of the king. And so they took their journey thitherward from the Moor, and came to Grafton[9] upon the Sunday in the morning, before

[8] i. e. Dr. Stephen Gardiner.

[9] The following additional particulars of the route are found in more recent MSS. "And were lodged the first night [illegible]

whose coming there rose in the court divers opinions, that the king would not speak with my Lord Cardinal; and thereupon were laid many great wagers.

These two prelates being come to the gates of the court, where they alighted from their horses, supposing that they should have been received by the head officers of the house as they were wont to be; yet for as much as Cardinal Campeggio was but a stranger in effect, the said officers received them, and conveyed him to his lodging within the court, which was prepared for him only. And after my lord had brought him thus to his lodging, he left him there and departed, supposing to have gone directly likewise to his chamber, as he was accustomed to do. And by the way as he was going, it was told him that he had no lodging appointed for him in the court. And being therewith astonied, Sir Henry Norris, Groom of the Stole [to] the king, came unto him, (but whether it was by the king's commandment or no I know not), and most humbly offered him his chamber for the time, until another might somewhere be provided for him: "For, Sir, I assure you," quoth he, "here is very little room

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Bedfordshire, called Leighton Bussarde, in the parsonage there, being Mr. Doctor Chambers's benefice, the kings phisitian. And from thence they rode the next day."

in this house, scantly sufficient for the king; therefore I beseech your grace to accept mine for the season." Whom my lord thanked for his gentle offer, and went straight to his chamber, where as my lord shifted his riding apparel, and being thus in his chamber, divers noble persons and gentlemen, being his loving friends, came to visit him and to welcome him to the court, by whom my lord was advertised of all things touching the king's displeasure towards him; which did him no small pleasure; and caused him to be the more readily provided of sufficient excuses for his defence.

Then was my lord advertised by Master Norris, that he should prepare himself to give attendance in the chamber of presence against the king's coming thither, who was disposed there to talk with him, and with the other cardinal, who came into my lord's chamber, and they together went into the said chamber of presence, where the lords of the council stood in a row in order along the chamber. My lord putting off his cap to every of them most gently, and so did they no less to him: at which time the chamber was so furnished with noblemen, gentlemen, and other worthy persons, that only expected the meeting, and the countenance of the king and him, and what entertainment the king made him.

Then immediately after came the king into the chamber, and standing there under the cloth of estate, my lord kneeled down before him, who took my lord by the hand, and so he did the other cardinal. Then he took my lord up by both arms and caused him to stand up, whom the king, with as amiable a cheer as ever he did, called him aside, and led him by the hand to a great window, where he talked with him, and caused him to be covered.

Then, to behold the countenance of those that had made their wagers to the contrary, it would have made you to smile; and thus were they all deceived, as well worthy for their presumption. The king was in long and earnest communication with him, in so much as I heard the king say: "How can that be: is not this your own hand?" and plucked out from his bosom a letter or writing, and showed him the same; and as I perceived that it was answered so by my lord that the king had no more to say in that matter; but said to him: "My lord, go to your dinner, and all my lords here will keep you company; and after dinner I will resort to you again, and then we will commune further with you in this matter; and so departed the king, and dined that same day with Mrs. Anne Boleyn, in her chamber, who kept there an estate more like a queen than a simple maid.

Then was a table set up in the chamber of presence for my lord, and other lords of the council, where they all dined together; and sitting thus at dinner communing of divers matters. Quoth my lord, "It were well done if the king would send his chaplains and bishops to their cures and benefices." "Yea marry," quoth my Lord of Norfolk, "and so it were for you too." "I could be contented therewith, very well," quoth my lord, "if it were the king's pleasure to grant me license, with his favour, to go to my benefice of Winchester." "Nay," quoth my Lord of Norfolk, "to your benefice of York, where consisteth your greatest honour and charge." "Even as it shall please the king," quoth my lord, and so fell into other communications. For the lords were very loth to have him planted so near the king as to be at Winchester[1]. Immediately after dinner they fell in secret talk until the waiters had dined.

And as I heard it reported by them that waited upon the king at dinner, that Mistress Anne Boleyn was much offended with the king,

[1] The king had listened to their suggestions against the cardinal, and they felt assured of success; they are represented by an eyewitness, as boasting openly that they would humble him and all churchmen, and spoil them of their wealth: "La faintaisie de ces seigneurs est, que lui mort ou ruiné ils déferrent incontinent icy l'estat de l'eglise, et prendront tous leurs biens; qu'il seroit ja besoing que je le misse en chiffre, car ils le crient en plaine table."
L'Evesque de Bayonne, Le Grand, Tom. iii. p. 374.

as far as she durst, that he so gently entertained my lord, saying, as she sat with the king at dinner, in communication of him, "Sir," quoth she, "is it not a marvellous thing to consider what debt and danger the cardinal hath brought you in with all your subjects?" "How so, sweetheart?" quoth the king, "Forsooth," quoth she, "there is not a man within all your realm, worth five pounds, but he hath indebted you unto him;" (meaning by a loan that the king had but late of his subjects). "Well, well," quoth the king, "as for that there is in him no blame; for I know that matter better than you, or any other." "Nay, Sir," quoth she, "besides all that, what things hath he wrought within this realm to your great slander and dishonour? There is never a nobleman within this realm that if he had done but half so much as he hath done, but he were well worthy to lose his head. If my Lord of Norfolk, my Lord of Suffolk, my lord my father, or any other noble person within your realm had done much less than he, but they should have lost their heads or this." "Why, then I perceive," quoth the king, "ye are not the cardinal's friend?" "Forsooth, Sir," then quoth she, "I have no cause, nor any other that loveth your grace, no more have your grace, if ye consider well his doings." At this time the waiters had taken

up the table, and so they ended their communication. Now ye may perceive the old malice beginning to break out, and newly to kindle the brand that after proved to a great fire, which was as much procured by his secret enemies, [of whom] I touched something before, as of herself.

After all this communication, the dinner thus ended, the king rose up and went incontinent into the chamber of presence, where as my lord, and other of the lords were attending his coming, he called my lord into the great window, and talked with him there a while very secretly. And at the last, the king took my lord by the hand and led him into his privy chamber, sitting there in consultation with him all alone without any other of the lords of the council, until it was night; the which blanked his enemies very sore, and made them to stir the coals; being in doubt what this matter would grow unto, having now none other refuge to trust to but Mistress Anne, in whom was all their whole and firm trust and affiance, without whom they doubted all their enterprise but frustrate and void.

Now was I fain, being warned that my lord had no lodging in the court, to ride into the country to provide for my lord a lodging; so that I provided a lodging for him at a house of Master Empson's, called Euston, three miles

from Grafton, whither my lord came by torch light, it was so late or the king and he departed. At whose departing the king commanded him to resort again early in the morning to the intent they might finish their talk which they had then begun and not concluded.

After their departing my lord came to the said house at Euston to his lodging, where he had to supper with him divers of his friends of the court; and sitting at supper, in came to him Doctor Stephens, the secretary, late ambassador unto Rome; but to what intent he came I know not; howbeit my lord took it, that he came to dissemble a certain obedience and love towards him, or else to espy his behaviour and to hear his communication at supper. Notwithstanding my lord bade him welcome, and commanded him to sit down at the table to supper; with whom my lord had this communication, under this manner. "Master Secretary," quoth my lord, "ye be welcome home out of Italy; when came ye from Rome?" "Forsooth," quoth he, "I came home almost a month ago." "And where," quoth my lord, "have you been ever since?" "Forsooth," quoth he, "following the court this progress." "Then have ye hunted, and had good game and pastime," quoth my lord. "Forsooth, sir," quoth he, "and so I have, I thank the king's majesty."

"What good greyhounds have ye?" quoth my lord? "I have some, sir," quoth he. And thus in hunting, and like disports, passed they all their communication at supper; and after supper my lord and he talked secretly together, till it was midnight or they departed.

The next morning my lord rose early and rode straight to the court; at whose coming the king was ready to ride, willing my lord to resort to the council with the lords in his absence, and said he could not tarry with him, commanding him to return with Cardinal Campeggio, who had taken his leave of the king. Whereupon my lord was constrained to take his leave also of the king, with whom the king departed amiably in the sight of all men. The king's sudden departing in the morning was by the special labour of Mistress Anne, who rode with him, only to lead him about, because he should not return until the cardinals were gone, the which departed after dinner, returning again towards the Moor[2].

The king rode that morning to view a ground for a new park, which is called at this day Hartwell Park, where Mistress Anne had made pro-

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[2] "Le pis de son mal est, que Mademoiselle de Boulen a faict promettre à son Amy qu'il ne l'escoutera jamais parler; car elle pense bien qu'il ne le pourroit garder d'en avoir pitié."

Lettre de l'Eveque de Bayonne ap. Le Grand, Tom. iii. p. 375.

vision for the king's dinner, fearing his return or the cardinals were gone.

Then rode my lord and the other cardinal after dinner on their way homeward, and so came to the monastery of St. Alban's (whereof he himself was commendatory), and there lay one whole day; and the next day they rode to the Moor; and from thence the Cardinal Campeggio took his journey towards Rome, with the king's reward; what it was I am uncertain. Nevertheless, after his departure, the king was informed that he carried with him great treasures of my lord's, (conveyed in great tuns) notable sums of gold and silver to Rome, whither they surmised my lord would secretly convey himself out of this realm. In so much that a post was sent speedily after the cardinal to search him; whom they overtook at Calais[3], where he was stayed until search was made; there was not so much money found as he received of the king's reward, and so he was dismissed and went his way.

After Cardinal Campeggio was thus departed and gone, Michaelmas Term[4] drew near,

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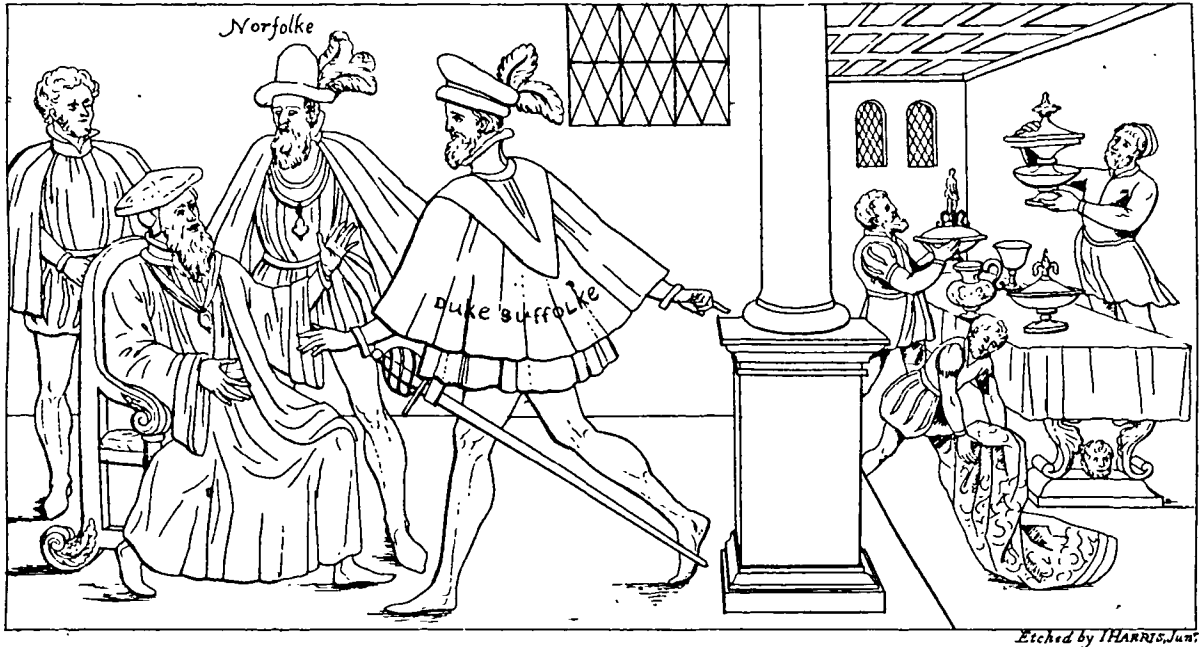
[3] "Le Cardinal Campège est encores à Douvres, et à ceste heure (je) viens d'entendre que, soubz couleur de faute de Navires, on ne le veult laisser passer, sans y prendre avis, de paeur qu'il n'emporte le thrésor du Card. d'Yorc."

Lettre de l'Evesque de Bayonne, apud Le Grand Hist. du Divorce.

[4] The Term then began the ninth of October.



Etched by I HARRIS, Junr.

TO THE DUKE OF SUFFOLK & NORFOLK, AND ALL HIS GOODS TO THE KING.

against the which my lord returned unto his house at Westminster; and when the Term began, he went to the hall in such like sort and gesture as he was wont most commonly to do, and sat in the Chancery, being Chancellor. After which day he never saf there more. The next day he tarried at home, expecting the coming of the Dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk, [who] came not that day; but the next day they came thither unto him; to whom they declared how the king's pleasure was that he should surrender and deliver up the great seal into their hands, and to depart simplily unto Asher[5], a house situate nigh Hampton Court, belonging to the Bishoprick of Winchester. My lord understanding their message, demanded of them what commission they had to give him any such commandment? who answered him again, that they were sufficient commissioners in that behalf, having the king's commandment by his mouth so to do. "Yet," quoth he, "that is not sufficient for me, without farther commandment of the king's pleasure; for the great seal of England was delivered me by the king's own person, to enjoy during my life, with the ministration of the office and high room of chancellorship of England: for my surety whereof, I have the king's letters patent to show." Which matter

[5] Esher.

was greatly debated between the dukes and him with many stout words between them; whose words and checks he took in patience for the time: in so much that the dukes were fain to depart again without their purpose at that present; and returned again unto Windsor to the king: and what report they made I cannot tell; howbeit, the next day they came again from the king, bringing with them the king's letters. After the receipt and reading of the same by my lord, which was done with much reverence, he delivered unto them the great seal[6], contented to obey the king's high commandment; and seeing that the king's pleasure was to take his house, with the contents, was well pleased simply to depart to Asher, taking nothing but only some provision for his house.

And after long talk between the dukes and him, they departed, with the great seal of England, to Windsor, unto the king. Then went my Lord Cardinal and called all officers in every office in his house before him, to take account of all such stuff as they had in charge[7]. And in his gallery there was set divers tables, whereupon a great number of rich stuffs of silk, in whole pieces, of all colours, as velvet, satin, damask, caffa, taffeta, grograine, sarcenet, and

[6] The Eighteenth November, 1529.

[7] This inventory is preserved among the Harleian MSS. No. 599.

of other not in my remembrance; also there lay a thousand pieces of fine holland cloth, whereof as I heard him say afterward, there was five hundred pieces thereof, conveyed both from the king and him [8].

Furthermore there was also all the walls of the gallery hanged with cloth of gold, and tissue of divers makings, and cloth of silver likewise on both the sides; and rich cloths of baudkin [9], of divers colours. There also hung the richest suits of copes of his own provision, (which he caused to be made for his colleges of Oxford and Ipswich), that ever I saw in England. Then had he two chambers adjoining to the gallery, the one called the *gilt chamber*, and the other called, most commonly, the *council chamber*, wherein were set in each two broad and long tables, upon tressels, whereupon was set such a number of plate of all sorts, as were almost incredible. In the *gilt chamber* was set out upon the

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[8] These words follow in the more recent MSS. "Yet there was laide upon every table, bokes, made in manner of inventories, reporting the number and contents of the same. And even so there were bokes made in manner of inventories of all things here after rehearsed, wherein he toke great paines to set all things in order against the king's comming."

[9] Baudkyn, cloth made partly of silk and partly of gold. Derived from *Balducca*, an Oriental name for Babylon, being brought from thence."—"*Baldekinum*—pannus omnium ditissimus, cujus, utpote stamen ex filio *auri*, subtegmen ex *serico* texitur, plumario opere intertextus." *Ducange Glossar. in voce.* It sometimes is used for a *canopy* or *cloth of state*.

tables nothing but all gilt plate; and a cupboard standing under a window, was garnished all wholly with plate of clean gold, whereof some was set with pearl and rich stones. And in the *council chamber* was set all white plate and parcel gilt; and under the tables, in both the chambers, were set baskets with old plate, which was not esteemed but for broken plate and old, not worthy to be occupied, and books containing the value and weight of every parcel laid by them ready to be seen; and so was also books set by all manner of stuff, containing the contents of every thing. Thus every thing being brought into good order and furnished, he gave the charge of the delivery thereof unto the king, to every officer within his office, of such stuff as they had before in charge, by indenture of every parcel; for the order of his house was such, as that every officer was charged by indenture with all such parcels as belonged to their office.

Then all things being ordered as it is before rehearsed, my lord prepared him to depart by water. And before his departing, he commanded Sir William Gascoigne, his treasurer, to see these things before remembered delivered safely to the king at his repair [thither]. That done, the said Sir William said unto my lord, "Sir, I am sorry for your grace, for I understand ye shall go straightway to the Tower."

"Is this the good comfort and counsel," quoth my lord, "that ye can give your master in adversity? It hath been always your natural inclination to be very light of credit; and much more lighter in reporting of false news. I would ye should know, Sir William, and all other such blasphemers, that it is nothing more false than that, for I never (thanks be to God), deserved by no ways to come there under any arrest, although it hath pleased the king to take my house ready furnished for his pleasure at this time. I would all the world knew, and so I confess, to have nothing, either riches, honour, or dignity, that hath not grown of him and by him; therefore it is my very duty to surrender the same to him again as his very own, with all my heart, or else I were an unkind servant. Therefore go your ways, and give good attendance unto your charge, that nothing be embezzled." And therewithal he made him ready to depart, with all his gentlemen and yeomen, which was no small number, and took his barge at his privy stairs, and so went by water unto Putney, where all his horses waited his coming. And at the taking of his barge there was no less than a thousand boats full of men and women of the city of London, *wafting* up and down in Thames, expecting my lord's departing, supposing that he should have gone

directly from thence to the Tower, whereat they rejoiced, and I dare be bold to say that the most part never received damage at his hands.

O wavering and new fangled multitude; Is it not a wonder to consider the inconstant mutability of this uncertain world! The common people always desiring alterations and novelties of things for the strangeness of the case; which after turneth them to small profit and commodity. For if the sequel of this matter be well considered and digested, ye shall understand that they had small cause to triumph at his fall. What hath succeeded all wise men doth know, and the common sort of them hath felt. Therefore to grudge or wonder at it, surely were but folly; to study a redress, I see not how it can be holpen, for the inclination and natural disposition of Englishmen is, and hath always been, to desire alteration of officers, which hath been thoroughly fed with long continuance in their rooms with sufficient riches and possessions; and they being put out, then cometh another hungry and a lean officer in his place, that biteth nearer the bone than the old. So the people be ever pilled and polled with hungry dogs, through their own desire of change of new officers, nature hath so wrought in the people, that it will not be redressed.

Wherefore I cannot see but always men in authority be disdained with the common sort of men; and such most of all, that justly ministereth equity to all men indifferently. For where they please some one which receiveth the benefit of the law at [their] hands according to justice, there doth they in likewise displease the contrary party, who supposeth to sustain great wrong, where they have equity and right. Thus all good justices be always in contempt with some for executing of indifferency. And yet such ministers must be, for if there should be no ministers of justice the world should run full of error and abomination, and no good order kept, ne quietness among the people. There is no good man but he will commend such justices as dealeth uprightly in their rooms, and rejoice at their continuance and not at their fall; and whether this be true or no, I put it to the judgment of all discreet persons. Now let us leave, and begin again where we left.

When he was with all his train arrived and landed at Putney, he took his mule, and every man his horse. And setting forth, not past the length of a pair of garden butts, he espied a man come riding empost down the hill, in Putney town, demanding of his footmen who they thought it should be? And they answered

again and said, that they supposed it should be Sir Harry Norris. And by and bye he came to my lord and saluted him, and said "that the king's majesty had him commended to his grace, and willed him in any wise to be of good cheer, for he was as much in his highness' favour as ever he was, and so shall be." And in token thereof, he delivered him a ring of gold, with a rich stone, which ring he knew very well, for it was always the privy token between the king and him whensoever the king would have any special matter dispatched at his hands. And said furthermore, "that the king commanded him to be of good cheer, and take no thought, for he should not lack. And although the king hath dealt with you unkindly as ye suppose, he saith that it is for no displeasure that he beareth you, but only to satisfy more the minds of some (which he knoweth be not your friends), than for any indignation: and also ye know right well, that he is able to recompense you with twice as much as your goods amounteth unto; and all this he bade me, that I should show you, therefore, sir, take patience. And for my part, I trust to see you in better estate than ever ye were." But when he heard Master Norris rehearse all the good and comfortable words of the king, he quickly lighted from off his mule, all alone, as though he had been the youngest

person amongst us, and incontinent kneeled down in the dirt upon both his knees, holding up his hands for joy. Master Norris perceiving him so quickly from his mule upon the ground, mused, and was astonied. And therewith he alighted also, and kneeled by him, embracing him in his arms, and asked him how he did, calling upon him to credit his message. "Master Norris," quoth he, "when I consider your comfortable and joyful news, I can do no less than to rejoice, for the sudden joy surmounted my memory, having no respect neither to the place or time, but thought it my very bounden duty to render thanks to God my maker, and to the king my sovereign lord and master, who hath sent me such comfort in the very place where I received the same."

And talking with Master Norris upon his knees in the mire, he would have pulled off his under cap of velvet, but he could not undo the knot under his chin; wherefore with violence he rent the laces and pulled it from his head, and so kneeled bare headed. And that done, he covered again his head, and arose, and would have mounted his mule, but he could not mount again with such agility as he lighted before, where his footmen had as much ado to set him in his saddle as they could have. Then rode he forth up the hill into the town, talking with Master Nor-

ris. And when he came upon Putney Heath, Master Norris took his leave and would have departed. Then quoth my lord unto him, "Gentle Norris, if I were lord of a realm, the one half thereof were insufficient a reward to give you for your pains, and good comfortable news. But, good Master Norris, consider with me, that I have nothing left me but my clothes on my back. Therefore I desire you to take this small reward of my hands;" the which was a little chain of gold, made like a bottle chain, with a cross of gold hanging thereat, wherein was a piece of the *Holy Cross*, which he wore continually about his neck next his skin; and said furthermore, "I assure you, Master Norris, that when I was in prosperity, although it seem but small in value, yet I would not gladly have departed with it for the value of a thousand pounds. Therefore I beseech you to take it in gree, and wear it about your neck for my sake, and as often as ye shall happen to look upon it, have me in remembrance to the king's majesty, as opportunity shall serve you, unto whose Highness and clemency, I desire you to have [me] most lowly commended; for whose charitable disposition towards me, I can do nothing but only minister my prayer unto God for the preservation of his royal estate, long to reign in honour, health,

and quiet life. I am his obedient subject, vassal, and poor chaplain, and do so intend, God willing, to be during my life, accounting that of myself I am of no estimation nor of no substance, but only by him and of him, whom I love better than myself, and have justly and truly served, to the best of my gross wit." And with that he took Master Norris by the hand and bade him farewell. And being gone but a small distance, he returned, and called Master Norris again, and when he was returned, he said unto him: "I am sorry," quoth he, "that I have no condign token to send to the king. But if ye would at this my request present the king with this poor Fool, I trust his highness would accept him well, for surely for a nobleman's pleasure he is worth a thousand pounds." So Master Norris took the Fool with him; with whom my lord was fain to send six of [his] tall yeomen, to conduct and convey the Fool to the court; for the poor Fool took on and fired so in such a rage when he saw that he must needs depart from my lord. Yet notwithstanding they conveyed him with Master Norris to the court, where the king received him most gladly.

After the departure of Master Norris with his token to the king, my lord rode straight to Asher, a house appertaining to the Bishoprick of Winchester, situate within the county of

Surrey, not far from Hampton Court, where my lord and his family continued the space of three or four weeks, without beds, sheets, table cloths, cups and dishes to eat our meat, or to lie in. Howbeit, there was good provision of all kind of victuals, and of drink, both beer and wine, whereof there was sufficient and plenty. My lord was of necessity compelled to borrow of the Bishop of Carlisle, and of Sir Thomas Arundell, both dishes to eat his meat in, and plate to drink in, and also linen cloths to occupy. And thus continued he in this strange estate until the feast of All-hallown tide was past[1].

It chanced me upon All-hallown day to come there into the *Great Chamber* at Asher, in the morning, to give mine attendance, where I found Master Cromwell leaning in the great window, with a Primer in his hand, saying of our Lady

[1] The Bishop of Bayonne, who paid him a visit of commiseration at this period, gives the following affecting picture of his distress, in a most interesting letter which will be found in the Appendix; he says: "J'ay esté voir le Cardinal en ses ennuis, où que j'y ay trouvé *le plus grand example de fortune qu' on ne scauroit voir*, il m'a remonstré son cas en la plus mauvaise rhétorique que je vis jamais, *car cueur et parolle luy falloient entièrement*; il a bien pleuré et prié que le Roy et Madame voulsissent avoir pitié de luy:—mais il m'a à la fin laissé sans me povoir dire austre chose qui vallist mieux que son visage; qui est bien dechue de la moitié de juste pris. Et vous promets, Monseigneur, que sa fortune est telle que ses ennemis, encores qu'ils soyent Anglois, ne se sçauroyent garder d'en avoir pitié, ce nonobstant ne le laisseront de le poursuivre jusques au bout." He represents him as willing to give up every thing, even the shirt from his back, and to live in a hermitage if the king would desist from his displeasure.

THOMAS CROMWELL,

EARL OF ESSEX.

ENGRAVED BY E. SCRIVEN, AFTER

THE ORIGINAL PICTURE BY HOLBEIN.

London Published Jan. 1, 1823, by Harding, Triphook & Lepard.

mattins; which had been since a very strange sight[2]. He prayed not more earnestly than the tears distilled from his eyes. Whom I bade

[2] Dr. Wordsworth's edition and the later manuscripts read: "*which had bine a strange sight in him afore;*" but this can hardly be right? The splendour of Cromwell's subsequent fortunes, their tragical close, and the prominent figure he makes in the events of this reign, which are among the most important of modern history, gives this circumstantial account a great degree of interest. His father was a blacksmith at Putney, the son was first an agent to an English factory at Antwerp, then a trooper in the Duke of Bourbon's army, and was present at the sacking of Rome. It appears that he assisted Mr. Russell (afterwards Earl of Bedford), in making his escape from the French at Bologna, and it is probably to this circumstance that he owed the friendly offices of that gentleman at a subsequent period. After passing sometime in the counting-house of a Venetian merchant, he returned to England and studied the law. Wolsey, it appears, first met with him in France, and soon made him his principal agent in the dissolution of monasteries and the foundation of his colleges. It was a trust which he discharged with ability, and is said to have enriched himself; yet he here complains that he "never had any promotion at the cardinal's hands to the increase of his living." And he tells the cardinal in his troubles, that "the soliciting his cause hath been very chargeable to him, and he cannot sustain it any longer without other respect than he hath had heretofore." He says, "I am a thousand pounds worse than I was when your troubles began." And after announcing the king's determination to dissolve the cardinal's colleges, he says: "I intreat your grace to be content, and let your prince execute his pleasure."

Cardinal Pole relates that he openly professed to him his Machiavelian principles, he had learned he said, "that vice and virtue were but names, fit indeed to amuse the leisure of the learned in their colleges, but pernicious to the man who seeks to rise in the courts of princes. The great art of the politician was, in his judgment, to penetrate through the disguise which sovereigns are accustomed to throw over their real inclinations, and to devise the most specious expedients by which they may gratify their appetites without appearing to outrage morality or religion." He shared largely in the public odium in which the cardinal was held, and Pole, who was then in London, says that the people loudly clamoured for his punishment.

good morrow. And with that I perceived the tears upon his cheeks. To whom I said, "Why Master Cromwell, what meaneth all this your sorrow? Is my lord in any danger, for whom ye lament thus? or is it for any loss that ye have sustained by any misadventure?"

"Nay, nay," quoth he, "it is my unhappy adventure, which am like to lose all that I have travailed for all the days of my life, for doing of my master true and diligent service." "Why, sir," quoth I, "I trust ye be too wise, to commit any thing by my lord's commandment, otherwise than ye might do of right, whereof ye have any cause to doubt of loss of your goods." "Well, well," quoth he, "I cannot tell; but all things I see before mine eyes, is as it is taken; and this I understand right well, that I am in disdain with most men for my master's sake; and surely without just cause. Howbeit, an ill name once gotten will not lightly be put away. I never had any promotion by my lord to the increase of my living. And thus much will I say to you, that I intend, God willing, this afternoon, when my lord hath dined, to ride to London, and so to the court, where I will either make or mar[3], or I come

[3] The day after it appears Cromwell was at court, and sought an audience from the king, which was granted him; Cardinal Pole, who had the account from Cromwell himself and others who

again. I will put myself in *prease*[4], to see what any man is able to lay to my charge of

were present, relates that upon this occasion Cromwell suggested to the king a mode of overcoming the difficulty of the pope's opposition to the divorce, by taking the authority into his own hands, and declaring himself head of the church within his own realm. The king gave ear to the proposition, and was so well pleased with Cromwell, that he thanked him, and admitted him to the dignity of a privy counsellor. This was the first step; to carry into effect this project his assistance was deemed necessary, and he arrived at length to the highest honours of the state; but at last became the victim of his own Machiavelian intrigues, and the vindictive spirit of the monarch. It has been doubted whether Cromwell deserves the credit of attachment to his fallen master to the whole extent which some writers have supposed. It is evident, from the very interesting conversation above, that he despaired of ever seeing Wolsey reinstated in his fortunes, and he was too subtle in his policy to have endeavoured to swim against the stream of court favour. That the cardinal suspected his fidelity to his cause is evident from fragments of two letters published by Fiddes among Mr. Master's collections, in one of which Cromwell says: "I am informed your grace hath me in some diffidence, as if I did dissemble with you, or procure any thing contrary to your profit and honour. I much muse that your grace should so think or suspect it secretly, considering the pains I have taken, &c. Wherefore I beseech you to speak without faining, if you have such conceit, that I may clear myself; I reckoned that your grace would have written plainly unto me of such thing, rather than secretly to have misrepresented me. But I shall bear your grace no less good will. Let God judge between us! Truly your grace in some things overshooteth yourself; there is regard to be given to what things you utter, and to whom."

The cardinal, in answer to this, protests: "that he suspects him not, and that may appear by his deeds, so that he useth no man's help nor counsel but his. Complaint indeed hath been made to him, that Cromwell hath not done him so good offices as he might concerning his colleges and archbishoprick; but he hath not believed them; yet he hath asked of their common friends how Cromwell hath behaved himself towards him; and to his great comfort hath found him faithful. Wherefore he beseecheth him, with weeping

[4] The press or crowd.

untruth or misdemeanour. "Marry, sir," quoth I, "in so doing, in my conceit, ye shall do very well and wisely, beseeching God to be your guide, and send you good luck, even as I would myself." And with that I was called into the closet, to see and prepare all things ready for my lord, who intended that day to say mass there himself; and so I did.

And then my lord came thither with his chaplain, one Doctor Marshall, saying first his mattins, and heard two masses on his knees. And then after he was confessed, he himself said mass. And when he had finished mass, and all his divine service, returned into his chamber, where he dined among divers of his doctors, where as Master Cromwell dined also; and sitting at dinner, it chanced that my lord commended the true and faithful service of his gentlemen and yeomen. Whereupon Master Cromwell took an occasion to say to my lord, that in conscience he ought to consider their truth and loyal service that they did him, in this his pre-

tears, to continue stedfast, and give no credit to the false suggestions of such as would sow variance between them, and so leave him destitute of all help."

But the testimony of Cavendish in his favour is conclusive, he says that, by reason of "his honest behaviour in his master's cause, he grew into such estimation in every man's opinion, that he was esteemed to be the most faithfullest servant to his master of all other, wherein he was of all men greatly commended."

sent necessity, which never forsaketh him in all his trouble.

"It shall be well done, therefore," said he, "for your grace to call before you all these your most worthy gentlemen and right honest yeomen, and let them understand, that ye right well consider their patience, truth, and faithfulness; and then give them your commendation, with good words and thanks, the which shall be to them great courage to sustain your mishap in patient misery, and to spend their life and substance in your service."

"Alas, Thomas," quoth my lord unto him, "ye know I have nothing to give them, and words without deeds be not often well taken. For if I had but as I have had of late, I would depart with them so frankly as they should be well content: but nothing hath no savour; and I am ashamed, and also sorry that I am not able to requite their faithful service. And although I have cause to rejoice, considering the fidelity I perceive in the number of my servants, who will not depart from me in my miserable estate, but be as diligent, obedient, and serviceable about me as they were in my great triumphant glory, yet do I lament again the want of substance to distribute among them." "Why, sir," quoth Master Cromwell, "have ye not here a number of chaplains, to whom ye have departed

very liberally with spiritual promotions, in so much as some may dispend, by your grace's preferment, a thousand marks by the year, and some five hundred marks, and some more, and some less; ye have no one chaplain within all your house, or belonging unto you, but he may dispend at the least well (by your procurement and preferment), three hundred marks yearly, who had all the profit and advantage at your hands, and other your servants none at all; and yet hath your poor servants taken much more pains for you in one day than all your idle chaplains hath done in a year. Therefore if they will not freely and frankly consider your liberality, and depart with you of the same goods gotten in your service, now in your great indigence and necessity, it is pity that they live; and all the world will have them in indignation and hatred, for their abominable ingratitude to their master and lord."

"I think no less, Thomas," quoth my lord, "wherefore, [I pray you,] cause all my servants to be called and to assemble without, in my great chamber, after dinner, and see them stand in order, and I will declare unto them my mind, according to your advice." After that the board's end was taken up, Master Cromwell came to me and said, "Heard you not, what my lord said even now?" "Yes, sir,"

quoth I, "that I did," "Well, then," quoth he, "assemble all my lord's servants up into the great chamber;" and so I did, and when they were all there assembled, I assigned all the gentlemen to stand on the right side of the chamber, and the yeomen on the left side. And at the last my lord came thither, appareled in a white rochet upon a violet gown of cloth like a bishop's, who went straight into the great window. Standing there a while, and his chaplains about him, beholding the number of his servants divided in two parts, he could not speak unto them for tenderness of his heart; the flood of tears that distilled from his eyes declared no less: the which perceived by his servants, caused the fountains of water to gush out of their faithful hearts down their cheeks, in such abundance as it would cause a cruel heart to lament. At the last, after he had turned his face to the wall, and wiped his eyes with his handkerchief, he spake to them after this sort in effect: "Most faithful gentlemen and true hearted yeomen, I do not only lament [to see] your persons present about me, but I do lament my negligent ingratitude towards you all on my behalf, in whom hath been a great default, that in my prosperity [I] have not done for you so much as I might have done, either in word or deed, which was then in my power to do:

but then I knew not my jewels and special treasures that I had of you my faithful servants in my house; but now approved experience hath taught me, and with the eyes of my discretion, which before were hid, I do perceive well the same. There was never thing that repented me more that ever I did than doth the remembrance of my oblivious negligence and ungentleness, that I have not promoted or preferred you to condign rooms and preferments, according to your demerits. Howbeit, it is not unknown to you all, that I was not so well furnished of temporal advancements, as I was of spiritual preferments. And if I should have promoted you to any of the king's offices and rooms, then should I have incurred the indignation of the king's servants, who would not much let to report in every place behind my back, that there could no office or room in the king's gift escape the cardinal and his servants, and thus should I incur the obloquy and slander before the whole world. But now it is come to this pass, that it hath pleased the king to take all that ever I have into his possession, so that I have nothing left me but my bare clothes upon my back, the which be but simple in comparison to those that ye have seen me have or this: howbeit, if they may do you any good or pleasure, I would not stick to divide them among you, yea, and the

skin of my back, if it might countervail any thing in value among you. But, good gentlemen and yeomen, my trusty and faithful servants, of whom no prince hath the like, in my opinion, I most heartily require you to take with me some patience a little while, for I doubt not but that the king, considering the offence suggested against me by my mortal enemies, to be of small effect, will shortly, I doubt not, restore me again to my living, so that I shall be more able to divide some part thereof yearly among you, whereof ye shall be well assured. For the surplusage of my revenues, whatsoever shall remain at the determination of my accompts, shall be, God willing, distributed among you. For I will never hereafter esteem the goods and riches of this uncertain world but as a vain thing, more than shall be sufficient for the maintenance of mine estate and dignity, that God hath or shall call me unto in this world during my life. And if the king do not thus shortly restore me, then will I see you bestowed according to your own requests, and write for you, either to the king, or to any other noble person within this realm, to retain you into service; for I doubt not but the king, or any noble man, or worthy gentleman of this realm, will credit my letter in your commendation. Therefore, in the mean time, mine advice

is, that ye repair home to your wives, such as have any: and such among you as hath none, to take this time to visit your parents and friends in the country. There is none of you all, but once in a year would require licence to visit your wives and other of your friends: take this time, I pray you, in respect thereof, and at your return I will not refuse you, if I should beg with you. I consider that the service of my house hath been such, and of such sort, that ye be not meet or apt to serve [any] man under the degree of a king; therefore I would wish you to serve no man but the king, who I am sure will not reject you. Therefore I desire you to take your pleasures for a month, and then ye may come again unto me, and I trust by that time, the king's majesty will extend his clemency upon me." "Sir," quoth Master Cromwell, "there is divers of these your yeomen, that would be glad to see their friends, but they lack money: therefore here is divers of your chaplains who have received at your hands great benefices and high dignities; let them therefore now show themselves unto you as they are bound by all humanity to do. I think their honesty and charity is not so slender and void of grace that they would not see you lack where they may help to refresh you. And for my part, although I have not received of your grace's

gift one penny towards the increase of my yearly living, yet will I depart with you this towards the dispatch of your servants," and [therewith] delivered him five pounds in gold. "And now let us see what your chaplains will do. I think they will depart with you much more than I have done, who be more able to give you a pound than I one penny." "Go to, masters," quoth he to the chaplains: in so much as some gave to him ten pounds, some ten marks, some a hundred shillings, and so some more and some less, as at that time their powers did extend; whereby my lord received among them as much money of their liberality as he gave to each of his yeomen a quarter's wages, and board wages for a month; and they departed down into the hall, where some determined to go to their friends, and some said that they would not depart from my lord until they might see him in better estate. My lord returned into his chamber lamenting the departure from his servants, making his moan unto Master Cromwell, who comforted him the best he could, and desired my lord to give him leave to go to London, where he would either make or mar or he came again, which was always his common saying. Then after long communication with my lord in secret, he departed and took his horse, and rode to London, at whose

departing I was by, whom he bade farewell; and said, "ye shall hear shortly of me, and if I speed well, I will not fail to be here again within these two days." And so I took my leave of him, and he rode forth on his journey. Sir Rafe Sadler, (now knight), was then his clerk, and rode with him.

After that my lord had supped that night, and all men gone to bed, (being All-hallown day), it chanced so, about midnight, that one of the porters came unto my chamber door, and there knocked, and waking me, I perceived who it was; [and] asked him, "what he would have that time of the night?" "Sir," quoth the porter, "there is a great number of horsemen at the gate, that would come in, saying to me, that it is Sir John Russell, and so it appears to me by his voice; what is your pleasure that I should do?" "Marry," quoth I, "go down again, and make a great fire in your lodge, against I come to dry them;" for it rained all that night the sorest that it did all that year before. Then I rose and put on my nightgown, and came to the gates, and asked who was there. With that Master Russell spake, whom I knew by his voice, and then I caused the porter to open the gates and let them all in, who were wet to the skin; desiring Master Russell to go into the lodge to the fire; and he showed me that he

was come from the king unto my lord in message, with whom he required me to speak. "Sir," quoth I, "I trust your news be good?" "Yea, I promise you on my fidelity," quoth he, "and so, I pray you, show him, I have brought him such news that will please him right well." "Then I will go," quoth I, "and wake him, and cause him to rise." I went incontinent to my lord's chamber door, and waked my lord, who asked me "what I would have?" "Sir," said I, "to show you that Sir John Russell is come from the king, who is desirous to speak with you;" and then he called up one of his grooms to let me in; and being within I told him "what a journey Sir John Russell had that night." "I pray God," quoth he, "all be for the best." "Yes, sir," quoth I, "he showed me, and so bade me tell you, that he had brought you such news as ye would greatly rejoice thereat." "Well, then," quoth he, "God be praised, and welcome be his grace! Go ye and fetch him unto me, and by that time I will be ready to talk with him."

Then I returned from him to the lodge, and brought Master Russell from thence to my lord, who had cast on his nightgown. And when Master Russell was come into his presence, he most humbly reverenced him, upon his knee, [to] whom my lord bowed down, and

took him up, and bade him welcome. "Sir," quoth he, "the king commendeth him unto you;" and delivered him a great ring of gold with a Turkis, for a token; "and willeth you to be of good cheer; who loveth you as well as ever he did, and is not a little disquieted for your troubles, whose mind is full of your remembrance. In so much as his grace, before he sat to supper, called me unto him, and commanded me to take this journey secretly to visit you, to your comfort the best of my power. And Sir, if it please your grace, I have had this night the sorest journey, for so little a way, that ever I had to my remembrance."

My lord thanked him for his pains and good news, and demanded of him if he had supped; and he said "Nay." "Well, then," quoth my lord to me, "cause the cooks to provide some meat for him; and cause a chamber with a good fire to be made ready for him, that he may take his rest awhile upon a bed." All which commandment I fulfilled; and in the meantime my lord and Master Russell were in very secret communication; and in fine, Master Russell went to his chamber, taking his leave of my lord for all night, and said, "he would not tarry but a while, for he would, God willing, be at the court at Greenwich again before day, for he would not for any thing that it were

known, his being with my lord that night." And so being in his chamber, having a small repast, rested him a while upon a bed, whilst his servants supped and dried themselves by the fire; and then incontinent he rode away with speed to the court. And shortly after his being there, my lord was restored again unto plenty of household stuff, vessels, and plate, and of all things necessary some part, so that he was indifferently furnished much better than he was of late, and yet not so abundantly as the king's pleasure was, the default whereof was in the officers, and in such as had the oversight of the delivery thereof; and yet my lord rejoiced in that little in comparison to that he had before.

Now let us return again to Master Cromwell, to see how he hath sped, since his departure last from my lord. The case stood so, that there should begin, shortly after All-hallown tide, the Parliament, and [he], being within London, devised with himself to be one of the Burgesses of the Parliament, and chanced to meet with one Sir Thomas Rush, knight, a special friend of his, whose son was appointed to be one of the Burgesses of that Parliament, of whom he obtained his room, and by that means put his foot into the Parliament House: then within two or three days after

his entry into the Parliament, he came unto my lord, to Asher, with a much pleasanter countenance than he had at his departure, and meeting with me before he came to my lord, said unto me, "that he had once adventured to put in his foot, where he trusted shortly to be better regarded, or all were done. And when he was come to my lord, they talked together in secret manner; and that done, he rode out of hand again that night to London, because he would not be absent from the Parliament the next morning. There could nothing be spoken against my lord in the Parliament House but he would answer it incontinent, or else take until the next day, against which time he would resort to my lord to know what answer he should make in his behalf; in so much that there was no matter alleged against my lord but that he was ever ready furnished with a sufficient answer; so that at length, for his honest behaviour in his master's cause, he grew into such estimation in every man's opinion, that he was esteemed to be the most faithfullest servant to his master of all other, wherein he was of all men greatly commended.

Then was there brought in a Bill of Articles into the Parliament House to have my lord condemned of treason; against which bill Master Cromwell inveighed so discreetly, with

such witty persuasions and deep reasons, that the same bill could take there no effect[5]. Then were his enemies compelled to indite him in a *premunire*, and all was done only to the intent to entitle the king to all his goods and possessions, the which he had gathered together, and purchased for his colleges in Oxford and Ipswich, and for the maintenance of the same, which was then abuilding in most sumptuous wise. Wherein when he was demanded by the judges, which were sent,[to] him purposely to examine him what answer he would make to the same, he said: "The king's highness knoweth right well whether I have offended his majesty and his laws or no, in using of my prerogative legatine, for the which ye have me indited. Notwithstanding I have the king's license in my coffers, under his hand and broad seal, for exercising and using the authority thereof, in

[5] A writer before cited (Dr. Pegge), is of opinion that the House of Commons could not do otherwise than acquit him, notwithstanding the validity of several of the articles alleged against him, because he had either suffered the law for them already, or they were not sufficiently proved: indeed some of them were not proper grounds of censure.

'Wolsey says of these articles himself "whereof a great part be untrue: and those which be true are of such sort, that by the doing thereof no malice or untruth can be arrected unto me, neither to the prince's person nor to the state." 'The rejection of the bill may be justly ascribed to the relentment of the king, for Cromwell would not have dared to oppose it, nor the Commons to reject it, had they not received an intimation that such was the royal pleasure.'

the largest wise, within his highness' dominions, the which remaineth now in the hands of my enemies. Therefore, because I will not stand in question or trial with the king in his own cause, I am content here of mine own frank will and mind, in your presence, to confess the offence in the inditement, and put me wholly in the mercy and grace of the king, having no doubt in his godly disposition and charitable conscience, whom I know hath an high discretion to consider the truth, and my humble submission and obedience. And although I might justly stand on the trial with him therein; yet I am content to submit myself to his clemency, and thus much ye may say to him in my behalf, that I am entirely in his obedience, and do intend, God willing, to obey and fulfil all his princely pleasure in every thing that he will command me to do; whose will and pleasure I never yet disobeyed or repugned, but was always contented and glad to accomplish his desire and commandment before God, whom I ought most rathest to [have] obeyed; the which negligence now greatly repenteth me. Notwithstanding, I most heartily require you, to have me most humbly to his royal majesty commended, for whom I do and will pray for the preservation of his royal person, long to reign in honour, prosperity, and quietness, and

to have the victory over his mortal and cankered enemies." And they took their leave of him and departed.

Shortly after the king sent the Duke of Norfolk unto him in message; but what it was I am not certain. But my Lord being advertised that the duke was coming even at hand, he caused all his gentlemen to wait upon him down through the Hall into the Base Court, to receive the duke at the entry of the gates; and commanded all his yeomen to stand still in the Hall in order. And he and his gentlemen went to the gates, where he encountered with my Lord of Norfolk, whom he received bareheaded; who embraced each other: and so led him by the arm through the Hall into his chamber. And as the duke passed through the Hall, at the upper end thereof he turned again his visage down the Hall, regarding the number of the tall yeomen that stood in order there, and said: "Sirs," quoth he, "your diligent and faithful service unto my lord here your master, in this time of his calamity, hath purchased for yourselves of all noble men much honesty; in so much as the king commanded me to say to you in his grace's name, that, for your true and loving service that ye have done to your master, his highness will see you all furnished at all times with services according to your demerits."

With that my Lord Cardinal put off his cap, and said to my Lord of Norfolk; "Sir," quoth he, "these men be all approved men: wherefore it were pity they should want other service or living; and being sorry that I am not able to do for them as my heart doth wish, do therefore require you, my good lord, to be good lord unto them, and extend your good word for them, when ye shall see opportunity at any time hereafter; and that ye will prefer their diligent and faithful service to the king." "Doubt ye not thereof," quoth my Lord of Norfolk, "but I will do for them the best of my power: and when I shall see cause, I will be an earnest suitor for them to the king; and some of you I will retain myself in service for your honesty's sake. And as ye have begun, so continue and remain here still with my lord until ye hear more of the king's pleasure:—God's blessing and mine be with you!" And so went up into the great chamber to dinner, whom my Lord Cardinal thanked, and said unto him, "Yet, my lord, of all other noble men, I have most cause to thank you for your noble heart and gentle nature, which ye have showed me behind my back, as my servant, Thomas Cromwell, hath made report unto me. But even as ye are a noble man in deed, so have ye showed yourself no less to all men in calamity, and in especial to me, and

even as ye have abated my glory and high estate, and brought it full low, so have ye extended your honourable favour most charitably unto me, being prostrate before you. Forsooth, Sir, ye do right well deserve to bear in your arms the noble and gentle lion, whose natural inclination is, that when he hath vanquished any beast, and seeth him yielded, lying prostrate before him at his feet, then will he show most clemency unto his vanquished, and do him no more harm, ne suffer any other devouring beast to damage him: whose nature and quality ye do ensue; therefore these verses may be applied to your lordship:

Parcere prostratis scit nobilis ira leonis:
Tu quoque fac simile, quisquis regnabis in orbem.

With that the water was brought them to wash before dinner, to the which my lord called my Lord of Norfolk to wash with him: but he refused of courtesy, and desired to have him excused, and said "that it became him not to presume to wash with him any more now, than it did before[6] in his glory." "Yes, forsooth," quoth my Lord Cardinal, "for my authority and dignity legatine is gone, wherein consisted all

[6] During the visit of the Emperor Charles V. to Henry VIII. "on Monday at nine of the clocke at night, was begun a banquet, which endured till the next morning at three of the clocke, at the which banquet the emperor, the king, and the Quecne did wash together, the Duke of Buckingham giving the water, the Duke of Suffolke holding the towel. Next them did washe *the Lord Car-*

my high honour." "A straw," quoth my Lord of Norfolk, "for your legacy. I never esteemed your honour the more or higher for that. But I regarded your honour, for that ye were Archbishop of York, and a cardinal, whose estate of honour surmounteth any duke now being within this realm; and so will I honour you, and acknowledge the same, and bear you reverence accordingly. Therefore, I beseech you, content yourself, for I will not presume to wash with you; and therefore I pray you, hold me excused." Then was my Lord Cardinal constrained to wash alone; and my Lord of Norfolk all alone also. When he had done, my Lord Cardinal would fain have had him to sit down on the chair, in the inner side of the table, but surely he refused the same also with much humbleness. Then was there set another chair for my Lord of Norfolk, over against my Lord Cardinal, on the outside of the table, the which was by my Lord of Norfolk based something beneath my lord, and during the dinner all their communication was of the diligent service of the gentlemen which remained with my lord there attending upon him at dinner, and how

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dinall, the Queene of Fraunce, and the Queene of Arragon. At which banquet the emperor kept the estate, the king sitting on the left hand, next him the French Queene; and on the other side sate the Queene, *the Cardinall*, and the Queene of Aragon; which banquet was served by the emperor's owne servants." *Stowe's Annals*, p. 510. edit. 1615. *W.*

much the king and all other noble men doth esteem them with worthy commendations for so doing; and at this time how little they be esteemed in the court that are come to the king's service, and [have] forsaken their master in his necessity; whereof some he blamed by name. And with this communication, the dinner being ended, they rose from the table, and went together into my lord's bedchamber, where they continued in consultation a certain season. And being there, it chanced Master Shelley, the judge, to come thither, sent from the king; whereof relation was made to my lord, which caused the duke and him to break up their communication; and the duke desired to go into some chamber to repose him for a season. And as he was coming out of my lord's chamber, he met with Master Shelley, to whom Master Shelley made relation of the cause of his coming, and desired the duke to tarry and to assist him in doing of his message; whom he denied and said, "I have nothing to do with your message, wherein I will not meddle;" and so departed into a chamber, where he took his rest for an hour or two. And in the mean time my lord issued out of his chamber, and came to Master Shelley to know his message. Who declared unto him, after due salutation, that the king's pleasure was to have his house at West-

minster, (then called York Place, belonging to the Bishoprick of York,) intending to make of that house a palace royal; and to possess the same according to the laws of this his grace's realm. His highness hath therefore sent for all the judges, and for all his learned counsel, to know their opinions in the assurance thereof; in whose determinations it was fully resolved, that your grace should recognise, before a judge, the right thereof to be in the king and his successors; and so his highness shall be assured thereof. Wherefore it hath pleased his majesty to appoint me by his commandment to come hither, to take of you this recognisance, who hath in you such affiance, that ye will not refuse so to do accordingly. Therefore I shall desire your grace to know your good will therein."—"Master Shelley," quoth my lord, "I know that the king of his own nature is of a royal stomach, and yet not willing more than justice shall lead him unto by the law. And therefore, I counsel you, and all other fathers of the law and learned men of his council, to put no more into his head than the law may stand with good conscience; for when ye tell him, this is the law, it were well done ye should tell him also that, although *this* be the law, yet *this* is conscience; for law without conscience is not good to be given unto a king in counsel to

use for a lawful right, but always to have a respect to conscience, before the rigour of the common law, for *laus est facere quod decet, non quod licet.* The king ought of his royal dignity and prerogative to mitigate the rigour of the law, where conscience hath the most force; therefore, in his royal place of equal justice, he hath constitute a chancellor, an officer to execute justice with clemency, where conscience is opposed by the rigour of the law. And therefore the Court of Chancery hath been heretofore commonly called the Court of Conscience; because it hath jurisdiction to command the high ministers of the common law to spare execution and judgment, where conscience hath most effect. Therefore I say to you in this case, although you, and other of your profession, perceive by your learning that the king may, by an order of your laws, lawfully do that thing which ye demand of me; how say you, Master Shelley, may I do it with justice and conscience, to give that thing away from me and my successors which is none of mine? If this be law, with conscience, show me your opinion, I pray you." "Forsooth, my lord," quoth he, there is some conscience in this case; but having regard to the king's high power, and to be employed to a better use and purpose, it may the better be suffered with conscience; who is sufficient to

make recompense to the church of York with double the value." "That I know well," quoth my lord, "but here is no such condition neither promised nor agreed, but only a bare and simple departure with another's right for ever. And if every bishop may do the like, then might every prelate give away the patrimony of their churches which is none of theirs; and so in process of time leave nothing for their successors to maintain their dignities, which, all things considered, should be but small to the king's honour. Sir, I do not intend to stand in terms with you in this matter, but let me see your commission." To whom Master Shelley showed the same, and that seen, and perceived by him, said again thus: "Master Shelley," quoth he, "ye shall make report to the king's highness, that I am his obedient subject, and faithful chaplain and beadman, whose royal commandment and request I will in no wise disobey, but most gladly fulfil and accomplish his princely will and pleasure in all things, and in especial in this matter, in as much as ye, the fathers of the laws, say that I may lawfully do it. Therefore I charge your conscience and discharge mine. Howbeit, I pray you, show his majesty from me, that I most humbly desire his highness to call to his most gracious remembrance, that there is both heaven and hell." And therewith the clerk was called, who

wrote my lord's recognisance[7], and after some secret talk Master Shelley departed. Then rose my Lord of Norfolk from his repose, and after some communication with my lord he departed.

Thus continued my lord at Asher, who received daily messages from the court, whereof some were not so good as some were bad, but yet much more evil than good. For his enemies, perceiving the great affection that the king bare always towards him, devised a mean to disquiet and disturb his patience; thinking thereby to give him an occasion to fret and chafe, that death should rather ensue than increase of health or life, the which they most desired. They feared him more after his fall than they did before in his prosperity, doubting much his readoption into authority, by reason that the king's favour remained still towards him in such force, whereby they might rather be in danger of their estates, than in any assurance, for their cruelty ministered, by their malicious inventions, surmised and brought to pass against him.

Therefore they took this order among them in their matters, that daily they would send him something, or do something against him, wherein they thought that they might give him

[7] This instrument is published by Fiddes in his Collections, p. 224.

a cause of heaviness or lamentation. As some day they would cause the king to send for four or five of his gentlemen from him to serve the king: and some other day they would lay matters newly invented against him. Another day they would take from him some of his promotions; or of their promotions whom he [had] preferred before. Then would they fetch from him some of his yeomen; in so much as the king took into service sixteen of them at once, and at one time put them into his guard. This order of life he led continually; that there was no one day but, or ever he went to bed, he had an occasion greatly to chafe or fret the heart out of his belly, but that he was a wise man, and bare all their malice in patience [s].

At Christmas he fell sore sick, that he was likely to die. Whereof the king being advertised, was very sorry therefore, and sent Doctor Buttes, his grace's physician, unto him, to see in what estate he was. Doctor Buttes came unto him, and finding him very sick lying in his bed; and perceiving the danger he was in repaired again unto the king. Of whom the king demanded, saying, "How doth yonder man, have

[s] The anguish and anxiety he suffered may be seen by the letters written at this period to his old servants Cromwell and Gardiner; I have placed them in the Appendix, as a necessary illustration of this affecting picture.

Etched by J. Harris, Junr.

DR BUTTS SENT BY THE KING TO THE SICK CARDINAL WITH TOKENS OF FAVOUR.

From a M.S. in the Collection of Francis Douce Esq.r F.S.A.

Published by Harding, Triphook, & Lepard, 1814.

you seen him?" "Yea, sir," quoth he. "How do you like him?" quoth the king. "Forsooth, sir," quoth he, "if you will have him dead, I warrant your grace he will be dead within these four days, if he receive no comfort from you shortly, and Mistress Anne." "Marry," quoth the king, "God forbid that he should die. I pray you, good Master Buttes, go again unto him, and do your cure upon him; for I would not lose him for twenty thousand pounds." "Then must your grace," quoth Master Buttes, "send him first some comfortable message, as shortly as is possible." "Even so will I," quoth the king, "by you. And therefore make speed to him again, and ye shall deliver him from me this ring for a token of our good will and favour towards him, (in the which ring was engraved the king's visage within a ruby, as lively counterfeit as was possible to be devised). This ring he knoweth very well; for he gave me the same; and tell him, that I am not offended with him in my heart nothing at all, and that shall he perceive, and God send him life, very shortly. Therefore bid him be of good cheer, and pluck up his heart, and take no despair. And I charge you come not from him, until ye have brought him out of all danger of death." And then spake he to Mistress Anne, saying, "Good sweetheart, I pray you at this my instance, as

ye love us, to send the cardinal a token with comfortable words; and in so doing ye shall do us a loving pleasure." She being not minded to disobey the king's earnest request, whatsoever she intended in her heart towards the cardinal; took incontinent her tablet of gold hanging at her girdle, and delivered it to Master Buttes, with very gentle and comfortable words and commendations to the cardinal. And thus Master Buttes departed, and made speedy return to Asher, to my Lord Cardinal; after whom the king sent Doctor Clement, Doctor Wotton, and Doctor Cromer the Scot, to consult and assist Master Buttes for my lord's health.

After that Master Buttes had been with my lord, and delivered the king's and Mistress Anne's tokens unto him, with the most comfortable words he could devise on their behalf, whereat he rejoiced not a little, advancing him a little in his bed, and received their tokens most joyfully, thanking Master Buttes for his comfortable news and pains. Master Buttes showed him furthermore, that the king's pleasure was, that he should minister unto him for his health: and to join with him for the better and most assured and brief ways, to be had for the same, hath sent Doctor Wotton, Doctor Clement, and Doctor Cromer, to join with him in counsel and ministration. "Therefore, my

lord," quoth he, "it were well done that they should be called in to visit your person and estate, wherein I would be glad to hear their opinions, trusting in Almighty God that, through his grace and assistance, we shall ease you of your pains, and rid you clean from your disease and infirmity. Wherewith my lord was well pleased and contented to hear their judgments; for indeed he trusted more to the Scottish doctor than he did to any of the other, because he was the very occasion that he inhabited here in England, and before he gave him partly his exhibition in Paris. Then when they were come into his chamber, and had talked with him, he took upon him to debate his disease learnedly among them, so that they might understand that he was seen in that art. After they had taken order for ministration, it was not long or they brought him out of all danger and fear of death; and within four days they set him on his feet, and got him a good stomach to his meat[9]. This

[9] In an extract from a letter to Cromwell, published by Fiddes, the cardinal says: "My fever is somewhat asswaged, and the black humour also, howbeit I am entering into the kalends of a more dangerous disease, which is the dropsy, so that if I am not removed into a dryer air, and that shortly, there is little hope." And in a letter to Gardiner, which will be found in the Appendix, he repeats his wish to be removed from Asher: "Continuing in this moiste and corrupt ayer, beyng enteryd in the passion of the dropsy, *Appetitus et continuo insomnio*, I cannot lyve: wherfor of necessyte I must be removed to some dryer ayer and place."

done, and he in a good estate of amendment, they took their leave to depart, to whom my lord offered his reward; the which they refused, saying, that the king gave them in special commandment, to take nothing of him for their pains and ministration; for at their return his highness said that he would reward them of his own costs: and thus with great thanks they departed from my lord, whom they left in good estate of recovery.

After this time my lord daily amended, and so continued still at Asher until Candlemas; against which feast, the king caused to be sent him three or four cart loads of stuff, and most part thereof was locked in great standards, (except beds and kitchen-stuff,) wherein was both plate and rich hangings, and chapel-stuff. Then my lord, being thus furnished, was therewith well contented; although they whom the king assigned did not deliver him so good, ne so rich stuff, as the king's pleasure was, yet was he joyous thereof, and rendered most humble thanks to the king, and to them that appointed the said stuff for him, saying to us his servants, at the opening of the same stuff in the standards, the which we thought, and said, might have been better appointed, if it had pleased them that appointed it. "Nay, sirs," quoth my lord to us, "he that hath nothing is

glad of somewhat, though it be never so little, and although it be not in comparison half so much and good as we had before, yet we rejoice more of this little than we did of the great abundance that we then had; and thank the king very much for the same, trusting after this to have much more. Therefore let us all rejoice, and be glad, that God and the king hath so graciously remembered to restore us to some things to maintain our estate like a noble person."

Then commanded he master Cromwell, being with him, to make suit to the king's majesty, that he might remove thence to some other place, for he was weary of that house of Asher: for with continual use thereof the house waxed unsavoury; supposing that if he might remove from thence he should much sooner recover his health. And also the council had put into the king's head, that the new gallery at Asher, which my lord had late before his fall newly set up, should be very necessary for the king, to take down and set it up again at Westminster; which was done accordingly, and stands at this present day there[1]. The taking away thereof before my lord's face was to him a corrosive, which was invented by his enemies only to tor-

[1] "From the old gallery next the king's lodging, unto the first gatehouse." *Wordsworth's Edition.*

ment him, the which indeed discouraged him very sore to tarry any longer there. Now Master Cromwell thought it but vain and much folly to move any of the king's council to assist and prefer his suit to the king, among whom rested the number of his mortal enemies, for they would rather hinder his removing, or else remove him farther from the king, than to have holpen him to any place nigh the king's common trade; wherefore he refused any suit to them, and made only suit to the king's own person; whose suit the king graciously heard, and thought it very convenient to be granted; and through the special motion of Master Cromwell, the king was well contented that he should remove to Richmond, which place my lord had a little before repaired to his great cost and charge; for the king had made an exchange thereof with him for Hampton Court. All this his removing was done without the knowledge of the king's council, for if they might have had any intelligence thereof before, then would they have persuaded the king to the contrary: but when they were advertised of the king's grant and pleasure, they dissimuled their countenances in the king's presence, for they were greatly afraid of him, lest his nigh being, the king might at length some one time resort to him, and so call him home again, considering the

great affection and love that the king daily showed towards him; wherefore they doubted his rising again, if they found not a mean to remove him shortly from the king. In so much that they thought it convenient for their purpose to inform the king upon certain considerations which they invented, that it were very necessary that my lord should go down into the North unto his benefice of York, where he should be a good stay for the country; to the which the king, supposing that they had meant no less than good faith, granted and condescended to their suggestions; which were forced so with wonderful imagined considerations, that the king, understanding nothing of their intent, was lightly persuaded to the same. Whereupon the Duke of Norfolk commanded Master Cromwell, who had daily access unto him, to say to my lord, that it is the king's pleasure that he should with speed go to his benefice, where lieth his cure, and look to that according to his duty. Master Cromwell at his next repair to my lord, who lay then at Richmond, declared unto him what my Lord of Norfolk said, how it was determined that he should go to his benefice. "Well then, Thomas," quoth my lord, "seeing there is no other remedy, I do intend to go to my benefice of Winchester, and I pray you, Thomas, so show my Lord of Norfolk." "Con-

tented, sir," quoth Master Cromwell, and according to his commandment did so. To the which my Lord of Norfolk answered and said, "What will he do there?" "Nay," quoth he, "let him go into his province of York, whereof he hath received his honour, and there lieth the spiritual burden and charge of his conscience, as he ought to do, and so show him." The lords, who were not all his friends, having intelligence of his intent, thought to withdraw his appetite from Winchester, and would in no wise permit him to plant himself so nigh the king: [they] moved therefore the king to give my lord but a pension[2] out of Winchester, and to distribute all the rest among the nobility and other of his worthy servants; and in likewise to do the same with the revenues of St. Albans; and of the revenues of his colleges in Oxford and Ipswich, the which the king took into his own hands; whereof Master Cromwell had the receipt and government before by my lord's assignment. In consideration thereof it was thought most convenient that he should have so still. Notwithstanding, out of the revenues of Winchester and St. Albans the king gave to some one nobleman three hundred marks, and

[2] "Of four thousand marks," say the more recent MSS. and Dr. Wordsworth's Edit.

to some a hundred pounds, and to some more and to some less, according to the king's royal pleasure. Now Master Cromwell executed his office, the which he had over the lands of the college, so justly and exactly that he was had in great estimation for his witty behaviour therein, and also for the true, faithful, and diligent service extended towards my lord his master.

It came at length so to pass that those to whom the king's majesty had given any annuities or fees for term of life by patent out of the forenamed revenues could not be good, but [only] during my lord's life, forasmuch as the king had no longer estate or title therein[3], which came to him by reason of my lord's attainder in the premunire; and to make their estates good and sufficient according to their patents, it was thought necessary to have my lord's confirmation unto their grants. And this to be brought about, there was no other mean but to make suit to Master Cromwell to obtain their confirmation at my lord's hands, whom they thought might best obtain the same.

[3] Those to whom they were granted appear to have been the Lord Sandys and his son Thomas; Sir William Fitzwilliam, Sir Henry Guilford, Sir John Russel, and Sir Henry Norris. This suit to the cardinal seems to have been successfully brought about. Their pensions out of the revenues of the see of Winchester were settled on them for life by Act of Parliament, notwithstanding the just objection in the text. Rot. Parl. clxxxviii. Stat. 22. Hen. VIII. c. 22.

Then began both noblemen and other who had any patents of the king, out either of Winchester or St. Albans, to make earnest suit to Master Cromwell for to solicit their causes to my lord, to get of him his confirmations; and for his pains therein sustained, they promised every man, not only worthily to reward him, but also to show him such pleasures as should at all times lie in their several powers, whereof they assured him. Wherein Master Cromwell perceiving an occasion and a time given him to work for himself, and to bring the thing to pass which he long wished for; intended to work so in this matter, to serve their desires, that he might the sooner bring his own enterprise to purpose.

Then at his next resort to my lord, he moved him privily in this matter to have his counsel and his advice, and so by their witty heads it was devised that they should work together by one line, to bring by their policies Master Cromwell in place and estate, where he might do himself good and my lord much profit. Now began matters to work to bring Master Cromwell into estimation in such sort as was afterwards much to his increase of dignity; and thus every man, having an occasion to sue for my lord's confirmation, made now earnest travail to Master Cromwell for these purposes, who refused none to make promise that he

would do his best in that case. And having a great occasion of access to the king for the disposition of divers lands, whereof he had the order and governance; by means whereof, and by his witty demeanour, he grew continually into the king's favour, as ye shall hear after in this history. But first let us resort to the great business about the assurance of all these patents which the king hath given to divers noblemen and other of his servants, wherein Master Cromwell made a continuance of great suit to my lord for the same, that in process of time he served all their turns so that they had their purposes, and he their good wills. Thus rose his name and friendly acceptance with all men. The fame of his honesty and wisdom sounded so in the king's ears that, by reason of his access to the king, he perceived to be in him no less wisdom than fame had made of him report, forasmuch as he had the government and receipts of those lands which I showed you before; and the conference that he had with the king therein enforced the king to repute him a very wise man, and a meet instrument to serve his grace, as it after came to pass.

Sir, now the lords thought long to remove my lord farther from the king, and out of his common trade; wherefore among other of the

lords, my Lord of Norfolk said to Master Cromwell, "Sir," quoth he, "me thinketh that the cardinal your master maketh no haste northward; show him, that if he go not away shortly, I will, rather than he should tarry still, tear him with my teeth. Therefore I would advise him to prepare him away as shortly as he can, or else he shall be sent forward." These words Master Cromwell reported to my lord at his next repair unto him, who then had a just occasion to resort to him for the dispatch of the noblemen's and others' patents. And here I will leave of this matter, and show you of my lord's being at Richmond.

My lord, having license of the king to repair and remove to Richmond, made haste to prepare him thitherward; and so he came and lodged within the great park there, which was a very pretty house and a neat, lacking no necessary rooms that to so small a house was convenient and necessary; where was to the same a very proper garden garnished with divers pleasant walks and alleys: my lord continued in this lodge from the time that he came thither, shortly after Candlemas, until it was Lent, with a privy number of servants, because of the smallness of the house, and the rest of his family went to board wages.

I will tell you a certain tale by the way of communication. Sir, as my lord was accustomed towards night to walk in the garden there, to say his service, it was my chance then to wait upon him there; and standing still in an alley, whilst he in another walked with his chaplain, saying of his service; as I stood, I espied certain images of beasts counterfeit in timber, standing in a corner under the lodge wall, to the which I repaired to behold. Among whom I saw there a dun cow, whereon I mused most, because it seemed me to be the most lively *entaylled*[4] among all the rest. My lord being, as I said, walking on the other side of the garden, perceived me, came suddenly upon me at my back, unawares, [and] said: "What have you espied here, that you so attentively look upon?" "Forsooth, if it please your grace," quoth I, "here I do behold these *entaylled* images; the which I suppose were ordained for to be set up within some place about the king's palace: howbeit, sir, among them all, I have most considered the dun cow, [in] the which (as it seemeth me) the workman has most apertly showed his cunning." "Yea, marry, sir," quoth my lord, "upon this dun cow dependeth a certain prophecy, the which I will show you,

[4] From the Ital. *intagliare*, to cut, carve, &c.

for peradventure ye never heard of it before. There is a saying," quoth he, " that

> " When this cow rideth the bull,
> Then, priest, beware thy scull."

[Of] which prophecy neither my lord that declared it, ne I that heard it, understood the effect; although that even then it was a-working to be brought to pass. For this cow the king gave as one of his beasts appertaining of antiquity unto his earldom of Richmond, which was his ancient inheritance; this prophecy was after expounded in this wise. This dun cow, because it was the king's beast, betokened the king; and the bull betokened Mistress Anne Boleyn, which was after queen, because that her father, Sir Thomas Boleyn, gave the same beast in his cognisance. So that when the king had married her, the which was then unknown to my lord, or to any other at that time, then was this prophecy thought of all men to be fulfilled. For what a number of priests, both religious and secular, lost their heads for offending of such laws as were then made to bring this [marriage] to effect, is not unknown to all the world. Therefore it was judged of all men that this prophecy was then fulfilled when the king and she were joined in marriage. Now, how dark and obscure riddles and prophecies be,

you may behold in this same: for before it was brought to pass there was not the wisest prophesier could perfectly discuss it, as it is now come to effect and purpose. Trust therefore, by mine advice, to no kind of dark riddles and prophecies, wherein ye may, as many have been, be deceived, and brought to destruction. And many times the imaginations and travailous business to avoid such dark and strange prophecies, hath been the very occasion to bring the same the sooner to effect and perfection. Therefore let men beware to divine or assure themselves to expound any such prophecies, for who so doeth shall first deceive themselves, and, secondly, bring many into error; the experience hath been lately experienced, the more pity. But if men will needs think themselves so wise, to be assured of such blind prophecies, and will work their wills therein, either in avoiding or in fulfilling the same, God send him well to speed, for he may as well, and much more sooner, take damage than avoid the danger thereof! Let prophecies alone, a God's name, apply your vocation, and commit the exposition of such dark riddles and obscure prophecies to God, that disposeth them as his divine pleasure shall see cause to alter and change all your enterprises and imaginations to nothing, and deceive all your expectations, and cause you to

repent your great folly, the which when ye feel the smart, will yourself confess the same to be both great folly and much more madness to trust in any such fantasies. Let God therefore dispose them, who governeth and punisheth according to man's deserts, and not to all men's judgments.

You have heard herebefore what words the Duke of Norfolk had to Master Cromwell touching my lord's going to the North to his benefice of York, at such time as Master Cromwell declared the same to my lord, to whom my lord answered in this wise: "Marry, Thomas," quoth he, "then it is time to be going, if my Lord of Norfolk take it so. Therefore I pray you go to the king and move his highness in my behalf, and say that I would, with all my heart, go to my benefice at York, but for want of money; desiring his grace to assist me with some money towards my journey. For ye may say that the last money that I received of his majesty hath been too little to pay my debts, compelled by his counsel so to do; therefore to constrain me to the payment thereof, and his highness having all my goods, hath been too much extremity; wherein I trust his grace will have a charitable respect. Ye may say also to my Lord of Norfolk, and other of the council, that I would depart if I had

money." "Sir," quoth Master Cromwell, "I will do my best." And after other communication he departed again, and went to London.

My lord then in the beginning of Lent [removed] out of the Lodge into the Charterhouse of Richmond, where he lay in a lodging, which Doctor Collet, sometime Dean of Paul's, had made for himself, until he removed northward, which was in the Passion Week after; and he had to the same house a secret gallery, which went out of his chamber into the Charterhouse church, whither he resorted every day to their service; and at afternoons he would sit in contemplation with one or other of the most ancient fathers of that house in his cell, who among them by their counsel persuaded him from the vain glory of this world, and gave him divers shirts of hair, the which he often wore afterward, whereof I am certain. And thus he continued for the time of his abode there in godly contemplation.

Now when Master Cromwell came to the court, he chanced to move my Lord of Norfolk that my lord would gladly depart northward but for lack of money, wherein he desired his assistance to the king. Then went they both jointly to the king, to whom my Lord of Norfolk declared how my lord would gladly depart northward, if he wanted not money to

bring him thither; the king thereupon referred the assignment thereof to the council, whereupon they were in divers opinions. Some said he should have none, for he had sufficient but late delivered him; some would he should have sufficient and enough; and some contrariwise would he should have but a small sum; and some thought it much against the council's honour, and much more against the king's high dignity to see him want the maintenance of his estate which the king had given him in this realm; and [who] also hath been in such estimation with the king, and in great authority under him; it should be rather a great slander in foreign realms to the king and his whole council, to see him want that lately had so much, and now so little. "Therefore, rather than he should lack," quoth one among them, "(although he never did me good or any pleasure), yet would I lay my plate to gage for him for a thousand pounds, rather than he should depart so simply as some would have him for to do. Let us do to him as we would be done unto; considering his small offence, and his inestimable substance that he only hath departed withal the same, for satisfying of the king's pleasure, rather than he would stand in defence with the king in defending of his case, as he might justly have done, as ye all know. Let not malice

cloak this matter whereby that justice and mercy may take no place; ye have all your pleasures fulfilled which ye have long desired, and now suffer conscience to minister unto him some liberality; the day may come that some of us may be in the same case, ye have such alterations in persons, as well assured as ye suppose yourselves to be, and to stand upon as sure a ground, and what hangeth over our heads we know not; I can say no more: now do as ye list. Then after all this they began again to consult in this matter, and after long debating and reasoning about the same, it was concluded, that he should have by the way of prest[5], a thousand marks out of Winchester Bishoprick, beforehand of his pension, which the king had granted him out of the same, for the king had resumed the whole revenues of the Bishoprick of Winchester into his own hands; yet the king out of the same had granted divers great pensions unto divers noblemen and unto other of his council; so that I do suppose, all things accompted, his part was the least. So that, when this determination was fully concluded, they declared the same to the king, who straightway [commanded] the said thousand marks to be

[5] *Prêt, Somme prêtée.* Fr. A sum in advance. *W.*

delivered out of hand to Master Cromwell; and so it was. The king, calling Master Cromwell to him secretly, bade him to resort to him again when he had received the said sum of money. And according to the same commandment he repaired again to the king; to whom the king said: "Show my lord your master, although our council hath not assigned any sufficient sum of money to bear his charges, yet ye shall show him in my behalf, that I will send him a thousand pound, of my benevolence; and tell him that he shall not lack, and bid him be of good cheer." Master Cromwell upon his knees most humbly thanked the king on my lord's behalf, for his great benevolence and noble heart towards my lord, "those comfortable words of your grace," quoth he, "shall rejoice him more than three times the value of your noble reward." And therewith departed from the king and came to my lord directly to Richmond; to whom he delivered the money, and showed him all the arguments in the council, which ye have heard before, with the progress of the same; and of what money it was, and whereof it was levied, which the council sent him; and of the money which the king sent him, and of his comfortable words; whereof my lord rejoiced not a little, and [was] greatly comforted. And

after the receipt of this money my lord consulted with Master Cromwell about his departure, and of his journey, with the order thereof.

Then my lord prepared all things with speed for his journey into the North, and sent to London for livery clothes for his servants that should ride with him thither. Some he refused, such as he thought were not meet to serve; and some again of their own mind desired him of his favour to tarry still here in the south, being very loath to abandon their native country, their parents, wives, and children, [whom] he most gladly licensed with good will and favour, and rendered unto them his hearty thanks for their painful service and long tarriance with him in his troublesome decay and overthrow. So that now all things being furnished towards this journey, he took the same in the beginning of the Passion Week, before Easter; and so rode to a place, then the abbot's of Westminster, called Hendon; and the next day he removed to a place called the Rye; where my Lady Parrey lay; the next day he rode to Royston, and lodged in the monastery there; and the next he removed to Huntingdon, and there lodged in the Abbey; and from thence he removed to Peterborough, and there lodged also within the Abbey, being then Palm Sunday, where he made his abode until the

Thursday in Easter week, with all his train[6]; whereof the most part went to board wages in the town, having twelve carts to carry his stuff of his own, which came from his college in Oxford, where he had three score carts to carry such necessaries as belonged to his buildings there. Upon Palm Sunday he went in procession, with the monks, bearing his palm; setting forth God's service right honourably, with such singing men as he then had remaining with him. And upon Maundy Thursday he made his Maundy in our Lady's Chapel, having fifty-nine[7] poor men, whose feet he washed, wiped, and kissed; each of these poor men had twelve pence in money, three ells of canvass to make them shirts, a pair of new shoes, a cast of bread, three red herrings, and three white herrings, and the odd person had two shillings. Upon Easter Day in the morning he rode to the resurrection[8], and that day he went in procession

[6] "His train was in number one hundred and threescore persons." This addition is in Dr. Wordsworth's edition and the later MSS.

[7] He was now fifty-nine years old.

[8] The book of Ceremonies before cited, which was compiled in the reign of Henry VIII. observes: "Upon Easter Day in the morning *the ceremonies* of the *resurrection* be very laudable, to put us in remembrance of Christ's resurrection, which is the cause of our justification." *Strype's Eccles. Memorials*, v. i. p. 294. *Records.* What these ceremonies were we may collect from the Rubrics upon that day, in the *Processionale secundum usum Sarum.* fol. 72. edit. 1555; which are to this effect: On Easter Day, before mass, and before the ringing of the bells, let the clerks

in his cardinal's vesture, with his hat and hood on his head, and he himself sang there the high mass very devoutly; and granted clean remission to all the hearers[9]: and there continued [he] all the holidays.

My lord continuing at Peterborough after this manner, intending to remove from thence, sent me to Sir William Fitzwilliams, a knight, which dwelt within three or four miles of Peterborough, to provide him there a lodging until Monday next following, on his journey northward. And being with him, to whom I declared my lord's request, and he being thereof

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assemble, and all the tapers in the church be lighted. Then two persons shall draw nigh to the sepulchre, and after it is censed let them take the cross out of the sepulchre, and one of them begin *Christus resurgens*. Then let the procession commence. After this they shall all worship (*adorent*) the cross. Then let all the crucifixes and images in the church be unveiled, &c. &c. In like manner Good Friday also had its peculiar ceremonies. Bishop Longland closes his sermon preached on that day before King Henry VIII. A. D. 1538, in the following manner: "In meane season I shall exhorte you all in our Lord God, *as of old customs hath here this day bene used*, every one of you or ye departe, with moost entire devocyon, knelynge tofore our Savyour Lorde God, this our Jesus Chryst, whiche hath suffered soo muche for us, to whome we are soo muche bounden, *whoo lyeth in yonder sepulchre;* in honoure of hym, of his passyon and deathe, and of his five woundes, to say five Pater-nosters, five Aves, and one Credo: that it may please his mercifull goodness to make us parteners of the merites of this his most gloryous passyon, bloode, and deathe." *Imprynted by Thomas Petyt.* See also Michael Wood's *Dialogue or Familiar Talks.* A. D. 1554. Signat. D. 3. W.

[9] See above, page 95, Dr. Wordsworth's note.

very glad, rejoiced not a little that it would please my lord to visit his house in his way; saying, that he should be most heartiliest welcome of any man alive, the king's majesty excepted; and that he should not need to discharge the carriage of any of his stuff for his own use during the time of his being there; but have all things furnished ready against his coming to occupy, his own bed excepted. Thus upon my report made to my lord at my return, he rejoiced of my message, commanding me therein to give warning to all his officers and servants to prepare themselves to remove from Peterborough upon Thursday next. Then every man made all things in such readiness as was convenient, paying in the town for all things as they had taken of any person for their own use, for which cause my lord caused a proclamation to be made in the town, that if any person or persons in the town or country there were offended or grieved against any of my lord's servants, that they should resort to my lord's officers, of whom they should have redress, and truly answered as the case justly required. So that, all things being furnished, my lord took his journey from Peterborough upon the Thursday in Easter week, to Master Fitzwilliams, where he was joyously received, and had right worthy and honourable entertainment at the only charge

and expense of the said Master Fitzwilliams, all [the] time of his being there.

The occasion that moved Master Fitzwilliams thus to rejoice of my lord's being in his house was, that he sometime being a merchant of London and sheriff there, fell in debate with the city of London upon a grudge between the aldermen of the bench and him, upon a new corporation that he would erect of a new mystery called Merchant Taylors, contrary to the opinion of divers of the bench of aldermen of the city, which caused him to give and surrender his cloak, and departed from London, and inhabited within the country; and against the malice of all the said aldermen and other rulers in the commonweal of the city, my lord defended him, and retained him into service, whom he made first his treasurer of his house, and then after his high chamberlain; and in conclusion, for his wisdom, gravity, port, and eloquence, being a gentleman of a comely stature, made him one of the king's counsel: and [he] so continued all his life afterward. Therefore in consideration of all these gratitudes received at my lord's hands, as well in his trouble as in his preferment, was most gladdest like a faithful friend of good remembrance to requite him with the semblable gratuity, and right joyous that he had any occasion to minister

some pleasure, such as lay then in his power to do.

Thus my lord continued there until the Monday next; where lacked no good cheer of costly viands, both of wine and other goodly entertainment; so that upon the said Monday my lord departed from thence unto Stamford; where he lay all that night. And the next day he removed from thence unto Grantham, and was lodged in a gentleman's house, called Master Hall. And the next day he rode to Newark, and lodged in the castle all that night; the next day he rode to Southwell, a place of my lord's within three or four miles of Newark, where he intended to continue all that summer, as he did after.

Here I must declare to you a notable tale of communication which was done at Master Fitzwilliams before his departure from thence, between [my lord] and me, the which was this: Sir, my lord being in the garden at Master Fitzwilliams, walking, saying of his evensong with his chaplain, I being there giving attendance upon him, his evensong finished, [he] commanded his chaplain that bare up the train of his gown whilst he walked, to deliver me the same, and to go aside when he had done; and after the chaplain was gone a good distance, he said unto me in this wise, "Ye have been late at London,"

quoth he; "Forsooth, my lord," quoth I, "not since that I was there to buy your liveries for your servants." "And what news was there then," quoth he; "heard you no communication there of me? I pray you tell me." Then perceiving that I had a good occasion to talk my mind plainly unto him, [I] said, "Sir, if it please your grace, it was my chance to be at a dinner in a certain place within the city, where I, among divers other honest and worshipful gentlemen happed to sit, which were for the most part of my old familiar acquaintance, wherefore they were the more bolder to enter in communication with me, understanding that I was still your grace's servant; [they] asked me a question, which I could not well assoil them." "What was that?" quoth my lord, "Forsooth, sir," quoth I, "first they asked me how ye did, and how ye accepted your adversity, and trouble, and the loss of your goods; to the which I answered, that you were in health (thanks be to God), and took all things in good part; and so it seemed me, that they were all your indifferent friends lamenting your decay, and loss of your room and goods, doubting much that the sequel thereof could not be good in the commonwealth. For often changing of such officers which be fat fed, into the hands of such as

be lean and hungry for riches, [they] will sure travail by all means to get abundance, and so the poor commons be pillaged and extorted for greedy lucre of riches and treasure: they said that ye were full fed, and intended now much to the advancement of the king's honour and the commonwealth. Also they marvelled much that ye, being of so excellent a wit and high discretion, would so simply confess yourself guilty in the premunire, wherein ye might full well have stood in the trial of your case. For they understood, by the report of some of the king's learned counsel, that your case well considered, ye had great wrong: to the which I could make, as me thought, no sufficient answer, but said, "That I doubt not your so doing was upon some greater consideration than my wit could understand." "Is this," quoth he, "the opinion of wise men?" "Yea, forsooth, my lord," quoth I, "and almost of all other men." "Well, then," quoth he, "I see that their wisdoms perceive not the ground of the matter that moved me so to do. For I considered, that my enemies had brought the matter so to pass against me, and conveyed it so, that they made it the king's case, and caused the king to take the matter into his own hands and quarrel, and after that he had upon the occasion thereof seized all my goods and

possessions into his demayns, and then the quarrel to be his, rather than yield, or take a foil in the law, and thereby restore to me all my goods again, he would sooner (by the procurement of my enemies and evil willers) imagine my utter undoing and destruction; whereof the most ease therein had been for me perpetual imprisonment. And rather than I would jeopard so far, or put my life in any such hazard, yet had I most liefest to yield and confess the matter, committing the sole sum thereof, as I did, unto the king's clemency and mercy, and live at large, like a poor vicar, than to lie in prison with all the goods and honours that I had. And therefore it was the most best way for me, all things considered, to do as I have done, than to stand in trial with the king, for he would have been loath to have been noted a wrong doer, and in my submission, the king, I doubt not, had a great remorse of conscience, wherein he would rather pity me than malign me. And also there was a continual serpentine enemy about the king that would, I am well assured, if I had been found stiff necked, [have] called continually upon the king in his ear (I mean the night-crow) with such a vehemency that I should with the help of her assistance [have] obtained sooner the king's indignation than his lawful favour: and his fa-

vour once lost (which I trust at this present I have) would never have been by me recovered. Therefore I thought it better for me to keep still his loving favour, with loss of my goods and dignities, than to win my goods and substance with the loss of his love and princely favour, which is but only death: *Quia indignatio principis mors est.* And this was the special ground and cause that I yielded myself guilty in the *premunire;* which I perceive all men knew not, wherein since I understand the king hath conceived a certain prick of conscience; who took to himself the matter more grievous in his secret stomach than all men knew, for he knew whether I did offend him therein so grievously as it was made or no, to whose conscience I do commit my cause, truth, and equity." And thus we left the substance of all this communication; although we had much more talk: yet is this sufficient to cause you to understand as well the cause of his confession in his offence, as also the cause of the loss of all his goods and treasure.

Now let us return where we left, my lord being in the castle of Newark, intending to ride to Southwell, which was four miles from thence, took now his journey thitherward against supper. Where he was fain for lack of reparation of the bishop's place, which appertained to the

see of York, to be lodged in a prebendary's house against the said place, and there kept house until Whitsuntide next, against which time he removed into the place, newly amended and repaired, and there continued the most part of the summer, surely not without great resort of the most worshipfullest gentlemen of the country, and divers other, of whom they were most gladly entertained, and had of him the best cheer he could devise for them, whose gentle and familiar behaviour with them caused him to be greatly beloved and esteemed through the whole country.

He kept a noble house, and plenty of both meat and drink for all comers, both for rich and poor, and much alms given at his gates. He used much charity and pity among his poor tenants and other; although the fame thereof was no pleasant sound in the ears of his enemies, and of such as bare him no good will, howbeit the common people will report as they find cause; for he was much more familiar among all persons than he was accustomed, and most gladdest when he had an occasion to do them good. He made many agreements and concords between gentleman and gentleman, and between some gentlemen and their wives that had been long asunder, and in great trouble, and divers other agreements between other persons; making great assemblies for the same purpose, and feasting of

them, not sparing for any costs, where he might make a peace and amity; which purchased him much love[1] and friendship in the country.

It chanced that upon Corpus Christi eve, after supper, [my lord] commanded me to prepare all things for him in a readiness against the next day, for he intended to sing high mass in the minster that day; and I, not forgetting his commandments, gave like warning to all his officers of his house, and other of my fellows, to foresee that all things appertaining to their rooms were fully furnished to my lord's honour. This done

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[1] The favourable representation given of this portion of the cardinal's life, notwithstanding what is said by Fox, p. 908, is fully confirmed by an authority which cannot be suspected of partiality to his memory, that of a State Book, which came out from the office of the king's printer in the year 1536, intituled, *A Remedy for Sedition*. "Who was lesse beloved in the Northe than my lord cardynall, God have his sowle, before he was amonges them? Who better beloved, after he had ben there a whyle? We hate oft times whom we have good cause to love. It is a wonder to see howe they were turned; howe of utter enemyes they becam his dere frendes. He gave byshops a ryght good ensample, howe they might wyn mens hartys. There was few holy dayes, but he would ride five or six myle from his howse, nowe to this parysh churche, nowe to that, and there cause one or other of his doctours to make a sermone unto the people. He sat amonges them, and sayd masse before all the paryshe. He sawe why churches were made. He began to restore them to their ryght and propre use. He broughte his dinner with hym, and bad dyvers of the parish to it. He enquired, whether there was any debate or grudge betweene any of them; yf there were, after dinner he sente for the parties to the churche, and made them all one. Men say well that do well. Godde's lawes shal never be so set by as they ought, before they be well knowen." Signat. E. 2. *W.*

I went to my bed, where I was scantly asleep and warm, but that one of the porters came to my chamber door, calling upon me, and said, there was two gentlemen at the gate that would gladly speak with my lord from the king. With that I arose up and went incontinent unto the gate with the porter, demanding what they were that so fain [would] come in. They said unto me, that there was Master Brereton, one of the gentlemen of the king's privy chamber, and Master Wrotherly, who were come from the king empost, to speak with my lord. Then having understanding what they were, I caused the porter to let them in. And after their entry they desired me to speak with my lord without delay, for they might not tarry; at whose request I repaired to my lord's chamber, and waked him, who was asleep. But when he heard me speak, he demanded of me what I would have. "Sir," quoth I, "there be beneath in the porter's lodge, Master Brereton, gentleman of the king's privy chamber, and Master Wrotherly, come from the king to speak with you: they will not tarry; therefore they beseech your grace to speak with you out of hand." "Well then," quoth my lord, "bid them come up into my dining chamber, and I will prepare myself to come to them." Then I resorted to them again, and showed them that my lord desired them to come up

unto him, and he would talk with them, with a right good will. They thanked me, and went with me unto my lord, and as soon as they perceived him, being in his night apparel, did to him humble reverence; whom he took by the hands, demanding of them, how the king his sovereign lord did. "Sir," said they, "right well in health and merry, thanks be unto our Lord." "Sir," quoth they, "we must desire you to talk with you apart." "With a right good will," quoth my lord, who drew them aside into a great window, and there talked with them secretly; and after long talk they took out of a male a certain coffer covered with green velvet, and bound with bars of silver and gilt, with a lock of the same, having a key which was gilt, with the which they opened the same chest; out of the which they took a certain instrument or writing, containing more than one skin of parchment, having many great seals hanging at it, whereunto they put more wax for my lord's seal; the which my lord sealed with his own seal, and subscribed his name to the same; and that done they would needs depart, and (forasmuch as it was after midnight my lord desired them) to tarry, and take a bed. They thanked him, and said they might in no wise tarry, for they would with all speed to the Earl of Shrewsbury's directly without let, because they would be there or ever he stirred in

the morning. And my lord, perceiving their hasty speed, caused them to eat such cold meat as there was in store within the house, and to drink a cup or two of wine. And that done, he gave each of them four old sovereigns of gold, desiring them to take it *in grce*, saying, that if he had been of greater ability, their reward should have been better; and so taking their leave they departed. And after they were departed, as I heard say, they were not contented with their reward. Indeed they were not none of his indifferent friends, which caused them to accept it so disdainously. Howbeit, if they knew what little store of money he had at that present, they would I am sure, being but his indifferent friends, have given him hearty thanks: but nothing is more lost or cast away than is such things which be given to such ingrate persons. My lord went again to bed; and yet, all his watch and disturbance that he had that night notwithstanding, he sang High Mass the next day as he appointed before. There was none in all his house [besides myself and the porter] that knew of the coming or going of these two gentlemen; and yet there lay within the house many worshipful strangers.

After this sort and manner my lord continued at Southwell, until the latter end of grease time; at which time he intended to remove to Scroby,

which was another house of the Bishoprick of York. And against the day of his removing, he caused all his officers to prepare, as well for provision to be made for him there, as also for carriage of his stuff, and other matters concerning his estate. His removing and intent was not so secret, but that it was known abroad in [the] country; which was lamentable to all his neighbours about Southwell, and as it was lamentable unto them, so was it as much joy to his neighbours about Scroby.

Against the day of his removing divers knights and other gentlemen of worship in the country came to him to Southwell, intending to accompany and attend upon him in that journey the next day, and to conduct him through the forest unto Scroby. But he being of their purpose advertised, how they did intend to have lodged a great stag or twain for him by the way, purposely to show him all the pleasure and disport they could devise, and having, as I said, thereof intelligence, was very loath to receive any such honour and disport at their hands, not knowing how the king would take it; and being well assured that his enemies would rejoice much to understand that he would take upon him any such presumption, whereby they might find an occasion to inform the king how sumptuous and pleasant he was, notwithstanding his adversity

and overthrow, and so to bring the king into a wrong opinion [of him, and caused] small hope of reconcilement, but rather that he sought a mean to obtain the favour of the country to withstand the king's proceedings, with divers such imaginations, wherein he might rather sooner catch displeasure than favour and honour. And also he was loath to make the worshipful gentlemen privy to this his imagination, lest peradventure they should conceive some toy or fantasy in their heads by means thereof, and so to eschew their accustomed access, and absent themselves from him, which should be as much to his grief as the other was to his comfort. Therefore he devised this mean way, as hereafter followeth, which should rather be taken for a laughing disport than otherwise: first he called me unto him secretly at night, going to his rest, and commanded me in anywise most secretly that night to cause six or seven horses, besides his mule for his own person, to be made ready by the break of the day for him and for such persons as he appointed to ride with him to an abbey called Welbeck[2], where he intended to lodge by the way to Scroby, willing me to be also in a readiness to ride with

[2] In the more recent MS. and in Dr. Wordsworth's edition, "Newsted Abbey."

him, and to call him so early that he might be on horseback, after he had heard mass, by the breaking of the day. Sir, what will you more? All things being accomplished according to his commandment, and the same finished and done, he, with a small number before appointed, mounted upon his mule, setting forth by the breaking of the day towards Welbeck, which is about sixteen miles from thence; whither my lord and we came before six of the clock in the morning, and so went straight to his bed, leaving all the gentlemen strangers in their beds at Southwell, nothing privy of my lord's secret departure, who expected his uprising until it was eight of the clock. But after it was known to them and to all the rest there remaining behind him, then every man went to horseback, galloping after, supposing to overtake him. But he was at his rest in Welbeck or ever they rose out of their beds in Southwell, and so their chief hunting and coursing of the great stag was disappointed and dashed. But at their thither resort to my lord, sitting at dinner, the matter was jested, and laughed out merrily, and all the matter well taken.

My lord the next day removed from thence, to whom resorted divers gentlemen of my lord the Earl of Shrewsbury's servants, to desire my lord, in their master's name, to hunt in a park of

the earl's called Worksop Park, the which was within a mile of Welbeck, and the very best and next way for my lord to travel through on his journey, where much plenty of game was laid in a readiness to show him pleasure. Howbeit he thanked my lord their master for his gentleness, and them for their pains; saying that he was no meet man for any such pastime, being a man otherwise disposed, such pastimes and pleasures were meet for such noblemen as delight therein. Nevertheless he could do no less than to account my Lord of Shrewsbury to be much his friend, in whom he found such gentleness and nobleness in his honourable offer, to whom he rendered his most lowly thanks. But in no wise they could entreat him to hunt. Although the worshipful gentlemen being in his company provoked him all that they could do thereto, yet he would not consent, desiring them to be contented; saying, that he came not into the country, to frequent or follow any such pleasures or pastimes, but only to attend to a greater care that he had in hand, which was his duty, study, and pleasure. And with such reasons and persuasions he pacified them for that time. Howbeit yet as he rode through the park, both my Lord of Shrewsbury's servants, and also the foresaid gentlemen moved him once again, before whom the deer lay very fair for all pleasant

hunting and coursing. But it would not be; but [he] made as much speed to ride through the park as he could. And at the issue out of the park he called the earl's gentlemen and the keepers unto him, desiring them to have him commended to my lord their master, thanking him for his most honourable offer and good will, trusting shortly to visit him at his own house: and gave the keepers forty shillings for their pains and diligence who conducted him through the park. And so rode to another abbey called Rufford Abbey [to dinner]; and after he rode to Blythe Abbey, where he lay all night. And the next day he came to Scroby, where he continued until after Michaelmas, ministering many deeds of charity. Most commonly every Sunday (if the weather did serve) he would travel unto some parish church thereabout, and there would say his divine service, and either hear or say mass himself, causing some one of his chaplains to preach unto the people. And that done, he would dine in some honest house of that town, where should be distributed to the poor a great alms, as well of meat and drink as of money to supply the want of sufficient meat, if the number of the poor did so exceed of necessity. And thus with other good deeds practising and exercising during his abode there at Scroby, as making of love-days and agreements between

party and party, being then at variance, he daily frequented himself there about such business and deeds of honest charity.

Then about the feast of St. Michael next ensuing my lord took his journey towards Cawood Castle, the which is within seven miles of York; and passing thither he lay two nights and a day at St. Oswald's Abbey, where he himself confirmed children in the church, from eight of the clock in the morning until twelve of the clock at noon. And making a short dinner, resorted again to the church at one of the clock, and there began again to confirm more children until four of the clock, where he was at the last constrained for weariness to sit down in a chair, the number of the children was such. That done, he said his even song, and then went to supper, and rested him there all that night. And the next morning he applied himself to depart towards Cawood; and or ever he departed, he confirmed almost a hundred children more; and then rode on his journey. And by the way there were assembled at a stone cross standing upon a green, within a quarter of a mile of Ferrybridge, about the number of two hundred children, to confirm; where he alighted, and never removed his foot until he had confirmed them all; and then took his mule again and rode to Cawood, where he lay long after with much ho-

nour and love of the country, both of the worshipful and of the simple, exercising himself in good deeds of charity, and kept there an honourable and plentiful house for all comers; and also built and repaired the castle, which was then greatly decayed, having a great multitude of artificers and labourers, above the number of three hundred persons, daily in wages.

And lying there, he had intelligence by the gentlemen of the country, that used to repair unto him, that there was sprung a great variance and deadly hate between Sir Richard Tempest and Mr. Brian Hastings, then being but a squire, but after made knight, between whom was like to ensue great murder, unless some good mean might be found to redress the inconvenience that was most likeliest to ensue. My lord being thereof advertised, lamenting the case, made such means by his wisdom and letters, with other persuasions, that these two gentlemen were content to resort to my lord to Cawood, and there to abide his order, high and low. Then was there a day appointed of their assembly before my lord, at which day they came not without great number on each part. Wherefore against [that] day, my lord had required many worshipful gentlemen to be there present, to assist him with their wisdoms to appease these two worthy gentlemen, being at deadly feud. And to see the king's

peace kept, commanding no more of their number to enter into the castle with these two gentlemen than six persons of each of their menial servants, and all the rest to remain without in the town, or where they listed to repair. And my lord himself issuing out of the gates, calling the number of both parties before him, straightly charging them most earnestly to observe and keep the king's peace, in the king's name, upon their perils, without either bragging or quarreling either with other; and caused them to have both beer and wine sent them into the town; and then returned again into the castle, being about nine of the clock. And because he would have these gentlemen to dine with him at his own table, thought it good in avoiding of further inconvenience to appease their rancour before. Whereupon he called them into his chapel; and there, with the assistance of the other gentlemen, he fell into communication with the matter, declaring unto them the dangers and mischiefs that through their wilfulness and folly were most likeliest to ensue; with divers other good exhortations. Notwithstanding, the parties laying and alleging many things for their defence, sometime adding each to other stout and despiteful words of defiance, the which my lord and the other gentlemen had much ado to qualify, their malice was so great. Howbeit, at

length, with long continuance and wise arguments, and deep persuasions made by my lord, they were agreed, and finally accorded about four of the clock at afternoon; and so made them friends. And, as it seemed, they both rejoiced, and were right well contented therewith, to the great comfort of all the other worshipful gentlemen, causing them to shake hands, and to go arm in arm to dinner; and so went to dinner, though it was very late to dine[3], yet notwithstanding they dined together with the other gentlemen at my lord's table, where they drank lovingly each to other, with countenance of great amity. After dinner my lord caused them to discharge their routs and assembly that remained

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[3] This appears to have been then the prevailing hour of dinner. In the Northumberland Household Book it is said, "to X of the clock that my lord goes to dinner."

"With us," says Harrison, in the Description of England, prefixed to Holingshed's Chronicle, p. 171, "the Nobilitie, Gentrie, and Students do ordinarilie go to dinner at eleven before noone, and to supper at five, or betweene five and six at afternoone. The merchants dine and sup seldome before twelve at noone, and six at night, especiallie in London. The husbandmen dine also at high noone, as they call it, and sup at seven or eight: but out of the tearme in our Universities the scholars dine at ten. As for the poorest sort, they generally dine and sup when they may; so that to talke of their order of repast, it were but a needlesse matter."

"*Theophilus.* You wente to diner betyme I perceave. *Eusebius.* Even as I doe commonly, when I have no busynes, betwene nyne and ten; me thinkes it is a good houre: for by that meanes I save a breakfast, whyche for such idlers as I am, is most fittest." *Dialogue between Eusebius and Theophilus.* Signat. B 4. A. D. 1556. *W.*

in the town, and to retain with them no more servants than they were accustomed most commonly to ride with. And that done, these gentlemen, fulfilling his commandment, tarried at Cawood, and lay there all night; whom my lord entertained in such sort that they accepted his noble heart in great worthiness [and friendship,] trusting to have of him a special jewel in their country: having him in great estimation and favour, as it appeared afterward by their behaviour and demeanour towards him.

It is not to be doubted but that the worshipful persons, as doctors and prebendaries of the close of York, would and did resort unto him according to their duties, as unto their father and patron of their spiritual dignities being at his first coming into the country, their church of York being within seven miles. Wherefore ye shall understand that Doctor Hickden, dean of the church of York[4], with the treasurer, and divers other head officers of the same repaired to my lord, welcoming him most joyously into the country; saying, that it was to them no small comfort to see him among them, as their chief head, which hath been so long absent from them, being all that while like fatherless children comfortless, trusting shortly to see him among them in his

[4] Dr. Brian Higden at that time bore the office.

own church. "It is," quoth he, "the especial cause of all my travel into this country, not only to be among you for a time, but also to spend my life with you as a very father, and as a mutual brother." "Sir, then," quoth they, "ye must understand that the ordinary rules of our church hath been of an ancient custom, whereof although ye be head and chief governor, yet be ye not so well acquainted with them as we be. Therefore, we shall under the supportation of your grace, declare some part thereof to you, as well of our ancient customs as of the laws and usage of the same. Therefore ye shall understand that where ye do intend to repair unto us, the old law and custom of our church hath been, that the archbishop being our chief head and pastor, as your grace now be, might ne ought not to come above the choir door, nor have any stall in the choir, until he by due order were there stalled. For, if ye should happen to die before your stallation, ye shall not be buried above in the choir, but in the body of the same church beneath. Therefore we shall, *una voce*, require your grace in the name of all other our brethren, that ye would vouchsafe to do herein as your noble predecessors and honourable fathers hath done; and that ye will not infringe or violate any of our laudable ordinances and constitutions of our church, to the observance and preservation

whereof we be obliged, by virtue of an oath at our first admittance, to see them observed and fulfilled to the uttermost of our powers, with divers other matters remaining of record in our treasury house among other things." "Those records," quoth my lord, "would I gladly see; and these seen and digested, I shall then show you further of my mind." And thus of this matter they ceased communication, and passed forth in other matters; so that my lord assigned them a day to bring in their records. At which day they brought with them their register book of records, wherein was written their constitutions and ancient rules, whereunto all the fathers and ministers of the church of York were most chiefly bound, both to see it done and performed, and also to perform and observe the same themselves. And when my lord had seen, read, and considered the effect of their records, and debated with them substantially therein, he determined to be stalled there in the Minster the next Monday after Alhallown-day. Against which day there was made necessary preparation for the furniture thereof, but not in so sumptuous a wise as his predecessors did before him; ne yet in such a sort as the common fame was blown abroad of him to his great slander, and to the reporters much more dishonesty, to forge such lies and blasphemous reports, wherein there is nothing more untrue.

The truth whereof I perfectly know, for I was made privy to the same, and sent to York to foresee all thing, [and] to prepare according for the same, which should have been much more mean and base than all other of his predecessors heretofore hath done.

It came so to pass, that upon Allhallown day, one of the head officers of the church, which should, by virtue of his office, have most doings in this stallation, [was] to dine with my lord at Cawood; and sitting at dinner they fell in communication of the order of his stallation, who said to my lord that he ought to go upon cloth from St. James's chapel (standing without the gates of the city of York) unto the minster, the which should be distributed among the poor. My lord, hearing this, made answer to the same in this wise. "Although," quoth he, "that our predecessors went upon cloth right sumptuously, we do intend, God willing, to go afoot from thence without any such glory[5], in the vamps of

[5] The Cardinal perhaps remembered the credit which was gained by his successful rival Cardinal Adrian, who being elected to the papacy by the Conclave, through the influence of the emperor Charles V. "before his entry into the cittie of Rome (as we are told by one of Sir Thomas More's biographers), putting off his hose and shoes, and as I have credibly heard it reported, barefooted and bare-legged, passed through the streets towards his Palace, with such humbleness, that all the people had him in great reverence." Harpsfield's *Life of Sir Thomas More*. Lambeth MSS. No. 827, fol. 12. *W.*

our hosen. For I take God to be my very judge, that I presume not to go thither for any triumph or vain glory, but only to fulfil the observance and rules of the church, to the which, as ye say, I am bound. And therefore I shall desire you all to hold you contented with my simplicity, and also I command all my servants to go as humbly without any other sumptuous apparel than they be constantly used, and that is comely and decent to wear. For I do assure you, I do intend to come to York upon Sunday at night, and lodge there in the dean's house, and upon Monday to be stalled; and there to make a dinner for you of the close, and for other worshipful gentlemen that shall chance to come to me at that time; and the next day to dine with the mayor, and so return home again to Cawood that night, and thus to finish the same, whereby I may at all times resort to York Minster without other scrupulosity or offence to any of you."

This day could not be unknown to all the country, but that some must needs have knowledge thereof, whereby that notice was given unto the gentlemen of the country, and they being thereof as well advertised as abbots, priors, and others, of the day of this solemnization, sent in such provision of dainty victuals that it is almost incredible; wherefore I omit to declare unto you the certainty thereof. As of great and fat beeves

and muttons, wildfowl, and venison, both red and fallow, and divers other dainty meats, such as the time of the year did serve, sufficient to furnish a great and a sumptuous feast, all which things were unknown to my lord: forasmuch as he being prevented and disappointed of his reasonable purposed intent, because he was arrested, as ye shall hear hereafter; so that the most part of this provision was sent to York that same day that he was arrested, and the next day following; for his arrest was kept as close and secret from the country as it could be, because they doubted the people, which had him in great love and estimation for his accustomed charity and liberality used daily among them, with familiar gesture and countenance, which be the very means to allure the love and hearts of the people in the north parts.

Or ever I wade any further in this matter, I do intend to declare unto you what chanced him before this his last trouble at Cawood, as a sign or token given by God what should follow of his end, or of trouble which did shortly ensue, the sequel whereof was of no man then present either premeditate or imagined. Therefore, for as much as it is a notable thing to be considered, I will (God willing) declare it as truly as it chanced according to my simple remembrance, at the which I myself was present.

My lord's accustomed enemies in the court about the king had now my lord in more doubt than they had before his fall, considering the continual favour that the king bare him, thought that at length the king might call him home again; and if he so did, they supposed, that he would rather imagine against them than to remit or forget their cruelty, which they most unjustly imagined against him. Wherefore they compassed in their heads that they would either by some means dispatch him by some sinister accusation of treason, or to bring him into the king's indignation by some other ways. This was their daily imagination and study, having as many spials, and as many eyes to attend upon his doings as the poets feigned Argus to have; so that he could neither work or do any thing, but that his enemies had knowledge thereof shortly after. Now at the last, they espied a time wherein they caught an occasion to bring their purpose to pass, thinking thereby to have of him a great advantage; for the matter being once disclosed unto the king, in such a vehemency as they purposed, they thought the king would be moved against him with great displeasure. And that by them executed and done, the king, upon their information, thought it good that he should come up to stand to his trial; which they liked nothing at all; notwithstanding he was sent for

after this sort. First, they devised that he should come up upon arrest in ward, which they knew right well would so sore grieve him that he might be the weaker to come into the king's presence to make answer. Wherefore they sent Sir Walter Walshe, knight, one of the gentlemen of the king's privy chamber down into the country unto the Earl of Northumberland[6] (who was brought up in my lord's house), and they twain being in commission jointly to arrest my lord of hault treason. This conclusion fully resolved, they caused Master Walshe to prepare himself to this journey with this commission, and certain instructions annexed to the same; who made him ready to ride, and took his horse at the court gate about one of the clock at noon, upon All-hallown day, towards the north. Now am I come to the place where I will declare the thing

[6] Dr. Percy, in the notes to the Northumberland Household Book, has adduced a very curious extract from one of the letters of this Earl of Northumberland, which he thinks affords a "full vindication of the earl from the charge of ingratitude in being the person employed to arrest the cardinal." However this may be, the earl appears to have felt the embarrassment of his situation; he trembled, and with a faltering voice could hardly utter the ungracious purport of his mission. To a mind of any delicacy the office must have been peculiarly distressing, and even supposing the earl to have been formerly treated in an arbitrary and imperious manner by the cardinal, it is one which he should have avoided. As the letter gives a very curious picture of the manners as well as the literature of our first nobility at that time, I shall place it in my appendix; the very curious volume in which it is to be found being of great rarity and value.

that I promised you before of a certain token of my lord's trouble; which was this.

My lord sitting at dinner upon All-hallown day, in Cawood Castle, having[7] at his board's end divers of his most worthiest chaplains, sitting at dinner to keep him company, for lack of strangers, ye shall understand, that my lord's great cross of silver accustomably stood in the corner, at the table's end, leaning against the tappet or hanging on the chamber. And when the table's [illegible]p, and a convenient time for [illegible] rising from the table, one Do[illegible] physician, being a Venetian [illegible] sterous gown of black velvet upon him, as he would have come out at the table's end, his gown overthrew the cross that stood there in the corner, and the cross trailing down along the tappet, it chanced to fall upon Doctor Bonner's head, who stood among others by the tappet, making of curtsy to my lord, and with one of the points of the cross razed his head a little, that the blood ran down.

[7] "In the houses of our ancient nobility they dined at long tables. The Lord and his principal guests sate at the upper end of the first table, in the Great Chamber, which was therefore called the Lord's Board-end. The officers of his household, and inferior guests, at long tables below in the hall. In the middle of each table stood a great salt cellar; and as particular care was taken to place the guests according to their rank, it became a mark of distinction, whether a person sate above or below the salt."—*Notes on the Northumberland Household Book*, p. 419.

The company standing there were greatly astonied with the chance. My lord sitting in his chair, looking upon them, perceiving the chance, demanded of me being next him, what the matter meant of their sudden abashment. I showed him how the cross fell upon Doctor Bonner's head. "Hath it," quoth he, "drawn any blood?" "Yea forsooth, my lord," quoth I, "as it seemeth me." With that he cast down his head, looking very soberly upon me a good while without any word speaking; at the last, quoth he, (shaking of his head) "*malum omen*[8];" and therewith said grace, and rose from the table, and went into his bedchamber, there lamenting, making his prayers[9]. Now mark the signification, how my lord expounded this matter unto me afterward at Pomfret Abbey. First, ye shall understand, that the cross, which belonged to the dignity of York, he understood to be himself; and Augus-

[8] The enemies of Archbishop Laud, particularly in the time of his troubles, were fond of comparing him with Cardinal Wolsey: and a garbled edition of this life was first printed in the year 1641, for the purpose of prejudicing that great prelate in the minds of the people, by insinuating a parallel between him and the cardinal. It is not generally known that, beside the edition of this life then put forth, a small pamphlet was also printed with the following title, "A true Description or rather Parallel betweene Cardinall Wolsey, Archbishop of York, and William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1741." As it is brief, and of extreme rarity, I shall give it a place in the Appendix.

[9] "But what he did there, I know not." The more recent MS. and Dr. Wordsworth's edition have this reading.

tine, that overthrew the cross, he understood to be he that should accuse him, by means whereof he should be overthrown. The falling upon Master Bonner's head, who was master of my lord's faculties and spiritual jurisdictions, who was damnified by the overthrowing of the cross by the physician, and the drawing of blood betokened death, which shortly after came to pass; about the very same time of the day of this mischance, Master Walshe took his horse at the court gate, as nigh as it could be judged. And thus my lord took it for a very sign or token of that which after ensued, if the circumstance be equally considered and noted, although no man was there present at that time that had any knowledge of Master Walshe's coming down, or what should follow. Wherefore, as it was supposed, that God showed him more secret knowledge of his latter days and end of his trouble than all men supposed; which appeared right well by divers talks that he had with me at divers times of his last end. And now that I have declared unto you the effect of this prodigy and sign, I will return again to my matter.

The time drawing nigh of his stallation; sitting at dinner, upon the Friday next before Monday on the which he intended to be stalled at York, the Earl of Northumberland and Mas-

ter Walshe, with a great company of gentlemen, as well of the earl's servants as of the country, which he had gathered together to accompany him in the king's name, not knowing to what purpose or what intent, came into the hall at Cawood, the officers sitting at dinner, and my lord not fully dined, but being at his fruits, nothing knowing of the earl's being in his hall. The first thing that the earl did, after he came into the castle, [he] commanded the porter to deliver him the keys of the gates, who would in no wise deliver him the keys, although he were very roughly commanded in the king's name, to deliver them to one of the earl's servants. Saying unto the earl, "Sir, ye do intend to deliver them to one of your servants to keep them and the gates, and to plant another in my room; I know no cause why ye should so do, and this I assure you that you have no one servant, but that I am as able to keep them as he, to what purpose soever it be. And also, the keys were delivered me by my lord my master, with a charge both by oath, and by other precepts and commandments. Therefore I beseech your lordship to pardon me, though I refuse your commandment. For whatsoever ye shall command me to do that belongeth to my office, I shall do it with a right good will as justly as any other of your servants." With that quoth the gentlemen there present

unto the earl, hearing him speak so stoutly like a man, and with so good reason: "Sir," quoth they, "he is a good fellow, and speaketh like a faithful servant to his master; and like an honest man: therefore give him your charge, and let him keep still the gates; who, we doubt not, will be obedient to your lordship's commandment." "Well then," quoth the earl, "hold him a book," and commanded him to lay his hand upon the book, whereat the porter made some doubt, but being persuaded by the gentlemen there present, was contented, and laid his hand upon the book, to whom, quoth the earl, "Thou shalt swear, to keep well and truly these gates to the king our sovereign lord's use, and to do all such things as we shall command thee in the king's name, being his highness' commissioners, and as it shall seem to us at all times good, as long as we shall be here in this castle; and that ye shall not let in nor out at these gates, but such as ye shall be commanded by us, from time to time," and upon this oath he received the keys at the earl's and Master Walshe's hands.

Of all these doings knew my lord nothing; for they stopped the stairs that went up to my lord's chamber where he sat, so that no man could pass up again that was come down. At the last one of my lord's servants chanced to look down into the hall at a loop that was upon

the stairs, and returned to my lord, [and] showed him that my Lord of Northumberland was in the hall; whereat my lord marveled, and would not believe him at the first; but commanded a gentleman, being his gentleman usher, to go down and bring him perfect word. Who going down the stairs, looking down at the loop, where he saw the earl, who then returned to my lord, and showed him that it was very he. "Then," quoth my lord, "I am sorry that we have dined, for I fear that our officers be not stored of any plenty of good fish, to make him such honourable cheer as to his estate is convenient, notwithstanding he shall have such as we have, with a right good will and loving heart. Let the table be standing still, and we will go down and meet him, and bring him up; and then he shall see how far forth we be at our dinner." With that he put the table from him, and rose up; going down he encountered the earl upon the midst of the stairs, coming up, with all his men about him. And as soon as my lord espied the earl, he put off his cap, and said to him, "My lord, ye be most heartily welcome; (and therewith they embraced each other). Although, my lord," quoth he, "that I have often desired, and wished in my heart to see you in my house, yet if ye had loved me as I do you, ye would have sent me word before of your coming, to the intent that I might have

received you according to your honour and mine. Notwithstanding ye shall have such cheer as I am able to make you, with a right good will; trusting that ye will accept the same of me as of your very old and loving friend, hoping hereafter to see you oftener, when I shall be more able and better provided to receive you with better fare." And then my lord took the Earl of Northumberland by the hand, and led him up into the chamber; whom followed all the earl's servants; where the table stood in the state that my lord left it when he rose, saying unto the earl, "Sir, now ye may perceive how far forth we were at our dinner. Then my lord led the earl to the fire, saying, "My lord, ye shall go into my bedchamber, where is a good fire made for you, and there ye may shift your apparel until your chamber be made ready. Therefore let your male be brought up: and or ever I go, I pray you give me leave to take these gentlemen, your servants, by the hands." And when he had taken them all by the hands, he returned to the earl, and said, "Ah, my lord, I perceive well that ye have observed my old precepts and instructions which I gave you, when you were abiding with me in your youth, which was, to cherish your father's old servants, whereof I see here present with you a great number. Surely, my lord, ye do therein very well and nobly, and like

a wise gentleman. For these be they that will not only serve and love you, but they will also live and die with you, and be true and faithful servants to you, and glad to see you prosper in honour; the which I beseech God to send you, with long life." This said, he took the earl by the hand, and led him into his bedchamber. And they being there all alone, save only I, that kept the door, according to my duty, being gentleman usher; these two lords standing at a window by the chimney, in my lord's bedchamber, the earl trembling said, with a very faint and soft voice, unto my lord, (laying his hand upon his arm) "My lord, I arrest you of high treason." With which words my lord was marvellously astonied, standing both still a long space without any further words. But at the last, quoth my lord, "What moveth you, or by what authority do you this?" "Forsooth, my lord," quoth the earl, "I have a commission to warrant me and my doing." "Where is your commission," quoth my lord, "let me see it?" "Nay, sir, that you may not," quoth the earl. "Well then," quoth my lord, "I will not obey your arrest: for there hath been between some of your predecessors and mine great contentions and debate grown upon an ancient grudge, which may succeed in you, with like inconvenience, as it hath done heretofore. Therefore, unless I see your authority and com-

mission, I will not obey you." Even as they were debating this matter between them in the chamber, so busy was Master Walshe in arresting of Doctor Augustine, the physician, at the door, within the portal, whom I heard say unto him, "Go in then, traitor, or I shall make thee." And with that, I opened the portal door, and the same being opened, Master Walshe thrust Doctor Augustine in before him with violence. These matters on both the sides astonished me very sore, musing what all this should mean; until at the last, Master Walshe, being entered the chamber, began to pluck off his hood, the which he had made him with a coat of the same cloth, of cotton, to the intent he would not be known. And after he had plucked it off, he kneeled down to my lord, to whom my lord spake first, commanding him to stand up, saying thus, "Sir, here my Lord of Northumberland hath arrested me of treason, but by what authority or commission he showeth me not; but saith, he hath one. If ye be privy thereto, or be joined with him therein, I pray you show me." "Indeed, my lord," quoth Master Walshe, "if it please your grace, it is true that he hath one." "Well then," said my lord, "I pray you let me see it." "Sir, I beseech your grace hold us excused," quoth Master Walshe, "there is annexed unto our commission a schedule with certain instructions

which ye may in no wise be privy unto." "Why," quoth my lord, "be your instructions such that I may not see them? Peradventure, if I might be privy to them, I could the better help you to perform them. It is not unknown unto you both I am assured, but I have been privy and of counsel in as weighty matters as this is, for I doubt not for my part, but I shall prove and clear myself to be a true man, against the expectation of all my cruel enemies. I have an understanding whereupon all this matter groweth. Well, there is no more to do. I trow, gentleman, ye be one of the king's privy chamber; your name, I suppose, is Walshe, I am content to yield unto you, but not to my Lord of Northumberland, without I see his commission. And also you are a sufficient commissioner yourself in that behalf, inasmuch as ye be one of the king's privy chamber; for the worst person there is a sufficient warrant to arrest the greatest peer of this realm, by the king's only commandment, without any commission. Therefore I am ready to be ordered and disposed at your will, put therefore the king's commission and your authority in execution, a God's name, and spare not, and I will obey the king's will and pleasure. For I fear more the cruelty of my unnatural enemies, than I do my truth and allegiance; wherein, I take God to witness, I never offended the king's majesty

in word or deed; and therein I dare stand face to face with any man alive, having indifferency, without partiality."

Then came my Lord of Northumberland unto me, standing at the portal door, and commanded me to avoid the chamber: and being loath to depart from my master, [I] stood still, and would not remove; to whom he spake again, and said, "There is no remedy, ye must needs depart." With that I looked upon my lord, (as who sayeth, shall I go?) upon whom my lord looked very heavily, and shook at me his head. Perceiving by his countenance it booted me not to abide, and so I departed the chamber, and went into the next chamber, where abode many gentlemen of my fellows, and other, to learn of me some news of the matter within; to whom I made report what I saw and heard; which was to them great heaviness to hear.

Then the earl called divers gentlemen into the chamber, which were for the most part his own servants; and after the earl and Master Walshe had taken the keys of all my lord's coffers from him, they gave the charge and custody of my lord's person unto these gentlemen. [And then] they departed, and went about the house to set all things in order that night against the next morning, intending then to depart from thence (being Saturday) with my lord; the which they deferred

until Sunday, because all things could not be brought to pass as they would have it. They went busily about to convey Doctor Augustine away to London-ward, with as much speed as they could, sending with him divers honest persons to conduct him, who was tied under the horse's belly. And this done, when it was night, the commissioners assigned two grooms of my lord's to attend upon him in his chamber that night where they lay; and the most part of the rest of the earl's gentlemen and servants watched in the next chamber and about the house continually until the morrow, and the porter kept the gates, so that no man could go in or out until the next morning. At which time my lord rose up, supposing that he should have departed that day, howbeit he was kept close secretly in his chamber, expecting continually his departure from thence. Then the earl sent for me into his own chamber, and being there he commanded me to go in to my lord, and there to give attendance upon him, and charged me upon an oath that I should observe certain articles. And going away from him, toward my lord, I met with Mr. Walshe in the court, who called me unto him, and led me into his chamber, and there showed me that the king's highness bare towards me his princely favour, for my diligent and true service that I daily ministered towards my lord

and master. "Wherefore," quoth he, "the king's pleasure is, that ye shall be about your master as most chiefest person, in whom his highness putteth great confidence and assured trust; whose pleasure is therefore, that ye shall be sworn unto his majesty to observe certain articles, in writing, the which I will deliver you." "Sir," quoth I, "my Lord of Northumberland hath already sworn me to divers articles." "Yea," quoth he, "but my lord could not deliver you the articles in writing, as I am commanded specially to do. Therefore, I deliver you this bill with these articles, the which ye shall be sworn to fulfil." "Sir," then quoth I, "I pray you to give me leave to peruse them, or ever I be sworn, to see if I be able to perform them." "With a right good will," quoth he. And when I had perused them, and understood that they were but reasonable and tolerable, I answered, that I was contented to obey the king's pleasure, and to be sworn to the performance of them. And so he gave me a new oath: and then I resorted to my lord, where he was in his chamber sitting in a chair, the tables being covered for him ready to go to dinner. But as soon as he perceived me coming in, he fell into such a woful lamentation, with such rueful terms and watery eyes, that it would have caused the flintiest heart to have re-

lented and burst for sorrow. And as I and other could, [we] comforted him; but it would not be. "For," quoth he, "now that I see this gentleman (meaning me) how faithful, how diligent, and how painful since the beginning of my trouble he hath served me, abandoning his own country, his wife, and children; his house and family, his rest and quietness, only to serve me, and remembering with myself that I have nothing to reward him for his honest merits grieveth me not a little. And also the sight of him putteth me in remembrance of the number of my faithful servants, that I have here remaining with me in this house; whom I did intend to have preferred and advanced, to the best of my power, from time to time, as occasion should serve. But now, alas! I am prevented, and have nothing left me here to reward them; for all is deprived me, and I am left here their desolate and miserable master, bare and wretched, without help or succour, but of God alone. Howbeit," quoth he to me (calling me by my name), "I am a true man, and therefore ye shall never receive shame of me for your service." I, perceiving his heaviness and lamentable words, said thus unto him: "My lord, I nothing mistrust your truth: and for the same I dare and will be sworn before the king's person and his honourable council. Wherefore, (kneel-

ing upon my knees before him, I said,) my lord, comfort yourself, and be of good cheer. The malice of your uncharitable enemies, nor their untruth, shall never prevail against your truth and faithfulness, for I doubt not but coming to your answer, my hope is such, that ye shall so acquit and clear yourself of all their surmised and feigned accusations, that it shall be to the king's contentation, and much to your advancement and restitution of your former dignity and estate." "Yea," quoth he, "if I may come to mine answer, I fear no man alive; for he liveth not upon the earth that shall look upon this face (pointing to his own face), shall be able to accuse me of any untruth; and that knoweth mine enemies full well, which will be an occasion that I shall not have indifferent justice, but they will rather seek some other sinister ways to destroy me." "Sir," quoth I, "ye need not therein doubt, the king being so much your good lord, as he hath always showed himself to be, in all your troubles." With that came up my lord's meat; and so we left our communication, I gave him water, and sat him down to dinner; with whom sat divers of the earl's gentlemen, notwithstanding my lord did eat very little meat, but would many times burst out suddenly in tears, with the most sorrowfullest words that hath been heard of any woful creature. And at the last he fetched a great sigh from the

bottom of his heart, saying these words of scripture[1], "*O constantia Martirum laudabilis! O charitas inextinguibilis! O pacientia invincibilis, quæ licet inter pressuras persequentium vïsa sit despicabilis, invenietur in laudem et gloriam ac honorem in tempore tribulationis.*" And thus passed he forth his dinner in great lamentation and heaviness, who was more fed and moistened with sorrow and tears than with either pleasant meats or delicate drinks. I suppose there was not a dry eye among all the gentlemen sitting at the table with him. And when the table was taken up, it was showed my lord, that he could not remove that night, (who expected none other all that day), quoth he, "Even when it shall seem my lord of Northumberland good."

The next day, being Sunday, my lord prepared himself to ride when he should be commanded; and after dinner, by that time that the earl had appointed all things in good order within the castle, it drew fast to night. There was assigned to attend upon him five of us, his own

[1] The words which follow, I apprehend, are part of some ecclesiastical hymn. It was not unusual to attribute the name of *Scripture* to all such compositions; and to whatever was read in churches. "Also I said and affirmed" (the words are part of the recantation of a Wickliffite), "that I held no *Scripture* catholike nor holy, but onely that is contained in the Bible. For the legends and lives of saints I held hem nought; and the miracles written of hem, I held untrue." Fox's *Acts*, p. 591. *W.*

servants, and no more; that is to say I, one chaplain, his barber, and two grooms of his chamber, and when he should go down the stairs out of the great chamber, my lord demanded for the rest of his servants; the earl answered, that they were not far; the which he had inclosed within the chapel, because they should not disquiet his departure. "Sir, I pray you," quoth my lord, "let me see them or ever I depart, or else I will never go out of this house." "Alack, my lord," quoth the earl, "they should trouble you; therefore I beseech you to content yourself." "Well," quoth my lord, "then will I not depart out of this house, but I will see them, and take my leave of them in this chamber." And his servants being inclosed in the chapel, having understanding of my lord's departing away, and that they should not see him before his departure, began to grudge, and to make such a rueful noise, that the commissioners doubted some tumult or inconvenience to arise by reason thereof, thought it good to let them pass out to my lord, and that done they came to him into the great chamber where he was, and there they kneeled down before him; among whom was not one dry eye, but pitifully lamented their master's fall and trouble. To whom my lord gave comfortable words and worthy praises for their diligent faith-

fulness and honest truth towards him, assuring them, that what chance soever should happen unto him, that he was a true man and a just to his sovereign lord. And thus with a lamentable manner, shaking each of them by the hands, was fain to depart, the night drew so fast upon them.

My lord's mule and our horses were ready brought into the inner court; where we mounted, and coming to the gate which was shut, the porter opened the same to let us pass, where was ready attending a great number of gentlemen with their servants, such as the earl assigned to conduct and attend upon his person that night to Pomfret, and so forth, as ye shall hear hereafter. But to tell you of the number of people of the country that were assembled at the gates which lamented his departing was wondrous, which was about the number of three thousand persons; who at the opening of the gates, after they had a sight of his person, cried all with a loud voice, "God save your grace, God save your grace! The foul evil take all them that hath thus taken you from us! we pray God that a very vengeance may light upon them!" Thus they ran crying after him through the town of Cawood, they loved him so well. For surely they had a great loss of him, both the poor and the rich: for the poor had of him great relief;

and the rich lacked his counsel in any business that they had to do, which caused him to have such love among them in the country.

Then rode he with his conductors towards Pomfret; and by the way as he rode, he asked me if I had any familiar acquaintance among the gentlemen that rode with him. "Yea, sir," said I, "what is your pleasure?" "Marry," quoth he, "I have left a thing behind me which I would fain have." "Sir," said I, "if I knew what it were, I would send for it out of hand." "Then," said he, "let the messenger go to my Lord of Northumberland, and desire him to send me the red buckram bag, lying in my almonry in my chamber, sealed with my seal." With that I departed from him, and went straight unto one Sir Roger Lassels, knight, who was then steward to the Earl of Northumberland (being among the rout of horsemen as one of the chiefest rulers), whom I desired to send some of his servants back unto the earl his master for that purpose; [who] granted most gently my request, and sent incontinent one of his servants unto my lord to Cawood for the said bag; who did so honestly his message, that he brought the same to my lord immediately after he was in his chamber within the abbey of Pomfret; where he lay all night. In which bag was no other thing enclosed but three shirts of hair, which he deli-

vered to the chaplain, his ghostly father, very secretly.

Furthermore, as we rode toward Pomfret, my lord demanded of me, whither they would lead him that night. "Forsooth, sir," quoth I, "but to Pomfret." "Alas," quoth he, "shall I go to the castle, and lie there, and die like a beast?" "Sir, I can tell you no more what they do intend; but I will inquire here among these gentlemen of a special friend of mine who is chief of all their counsel."

With that I repaired unto the said Sir Roger Lassels, knight, desiring him most earnestly that he would vouchsafe to show me, whither my lord should go to be lodged that night; who answered me again that my lord should be lodged within the abbey of Pomfret, and in none other place; and so I reported to my lord, who was glad thereof; so that within night we came to Pomfret Abbey, and there lodged.

And the earl remained still all that night in Cawood Castle, to see the despatch of the household, and to establish all the stuff in some surety within the same.

The next day they removed with my lord towards Doncaster, desiring that he might come thither by night, because the people followed him weeping and lamenting, and so they did nevertheless although he came in by torchlight, cry-

ing, "God save your grace, God save your grace, my good lord cardinal," running before him with candles in their hands, (who caused me therefore to ride hard by his mule to shadow him from the people, and yet they perceived him, cursing his enemies. And thus they brought him to the Blackfriars, within the which they lodged him that night.

And the next day we removed to Sheffield Park, where the Earl of Shrewsbury lay within the lodge, and all the way thitherward the people cried and lamented as they did in all places as we rode before. And when we came into the park of Sheffield, nigh to the lodge, my Lord of Shrewsbury, with my lady his wife, a train of gentlewomen, and all my lord's gentlemen and yeomen standing without the gates of the lodge to attend my lord's coming, to receive him with much honour; whom the earl embraced, saying these words, "My lord," quoth he, "your grace is most heartily welcome unto me, and [I am] glad to see you in my poor lodge, the which I have often desired; and [should have been] much more gladder, if you had come after another sort." "Ah, my gentle lord of Shrewsbury," quoth my lord, "I heartily thank you: and although I have no cause to rejoice, yet, as a sorrowful heart may joy, I rejoice, my chance which is so good to come unto the hands and custody of so noble

a person, whose approved honour and wisdom hath been always right well known to all noble estates. And, sir, howsoever my ungentle accusers have used their accusations against me, yet I assure you, and so before your lordship, and all the world, I do protest, that my demeanour and proceedings hath been just and loyal towards my sovereign and liege lord; of whose behaviour and doings your lordship hath had good experience; and even according to my truth and faithfulness so I beseech God to help me in this my calamity. "I doubt nothing of your truth," quoth the earl, "therefore, my lord, I beseech you, be of good cheer, and fear not; for I have received letters from the king of his own hand in your favour and entertaining, the which you shall see. Sir, I am nothing sorry, but that I have not wherewith worthily to receive you, and to entertain you, according to your honour and my good will; but such as I have, ye are most heartily welcome thereto, desiring you to accept my good will accordingly, for I will not receive you as a prisoner, but as my good lord, and the king's true faithful subject; and here is my wife come to salute you." Whom my lord kissed bareheaded, and all her gentlewomen; and took my lord's servants by the hands, as well gentlemen and yeomen as other. Then these two lords went arm in arm into the

lodge, conducting my lord into a fair chamber at the end of a goodly gallery, within a new tower where my lord was lodged. There was also in the midst of the same gallery a traverse of sarsenet drawn; so that the one part was preserved for my lord, and the other part for the earl.

Then departed all the great number of gentlemen and other that conducted my lord to the earl of Shrewsbury's. And my lord being there, continued there eighteen days after; upon whom the earl appointed divers gentlemen of his servants to serve my lord, forasmuch as he had a small number of servants there to serve; and also to see that he lacked nothing that he would desire, being served in his own chamber at dinner and supper, as honourably, and with as many dainty dishes, as he had most commonly in his own house being at liberty. And once every day the earl would resort unto him, and sit with him communing upon a bench in a great window in the gallery. And though the earl would right heartily comfort him, yet would he lament so piteously, that it would make the earl very sorry and heavy for his grief. "Sir," said he, "I have, and daily do receive letters from the king, commanding me to entertain you as one that he loveth, and highly favoureth; whereby I perceive ye do lament without any great cause much more than ye need to do. And though ye

be accused (as I think in good faith unjustly), yet the king can do no less but put you to your trial, the which is more for the satisfying of some persons, than for any mistrust that he hath in your doings." "Alas!" quoth my lord to the earl, "is it not a piteous case, that any man should so wrongfully accuse me unto the king's person, and not to come to mine answer before his majesty? For I am well assured, my lord, that there is no man alive or dead that looketh in this face of mine, [who] is able to accuse me of any disloyalty toward the king. Oh! how much it grieveth me that the king should have any suspicious opinion in me, to think that I would be false or conspire any evil to his royal person; who may well consider, that I have no assured friend in all the world in whom I put my trust but only in his grace; for if I should go about to betray my sovereign lord and prince, in whom is all my trust and confidence before all other persons, all men might justly think and report, that I lacked not only grace, but also both wit and discretion. Nay, nay, my lord, I would rather adventure to shed my heart's blood in his defence, as I am bound to do, by mine allegiance and also for the safeguard of myself, than to imagine his destruction; for he is my staff that supporteth me, and the wall that defendeth me against my malignant enemies, and

all other: who knoweth best my truth before all men, and hath had thereof best and longest experience. Therefore to conclude, it is not to be thought that ever I would go about or intend maliciously or traitorously to travel or wish any prejudice or damage to his royal person or imperial dignity; but, as I said, defend it with the shedding of my heart blood, and procure all men so to do, and it were but only for the defence of mine own person and simple estate, the which mine enemies think I do so much esteem; having none other refuge to flee to for defence or succour, in all adversity, but under the shadow of his majesty's wing. Alas! my lord, I was in a good estate now, and in case of a quiet living right well content therewith: but the enemy that never sleepeth, but studieth and continually imagineth, both sleeping and waking, my utter destruction, perceiving the contentation of my mind, doubted that their malicious and cruel dealings would at length grow to their shame and rebuke, goeth about therefore to prevent the same with shedding of my blood. But from God, that knoweth the secrets of their hearts and of all others, it cannot be hid, ne yet unrewarded, when he shall see opportunity. For, my good lord, if you will show yourself so much my good friend as to require the king's majesty, by your letters, that my accusers may come be-

fore my face in his presence, and there that I may make answer, I doubt not but ye shall see me acquit myself of all their malicious accusations, and utterly confound them; for they shall never be able to prove, by any due probations, that ever I offended the king in will, thought, and deed. Therefore I desire you and most heartily require your good lordship, to be a mean for me, that I may answer unto my accusers before the king's majesty. The case is his; and if their accusations should be true, then should it touch no man but him most earnestly; wherefore it were most convenient that he should hear it himself in proper person. But I fear me, that they do intend rather to dispatch me than I should come before him in his presence; for they be well assured, and very certain, that my truth should vanquish all their untruth and surmised accusations; which is the special cause that moveth me so earnestly to desire to make mine answer before the king's majesty. The loss of goods, the slander of my name, ne yet all my trouble, grieveth me nothing so much as the loss of the king's favour, and that he should have in me such an opinion, without desert, of untruth, that have with such travail and pains served his highness so justly, so painfully, and with so faithful a heart, to his profit and honour at all times. And also again, the truth of my

doings against their unjust accusations proved most just and loyal should be much to my honesty, and do me more good than to attain great treasure; as I doubt not but it will, if [the case] might be indifferently heard. Now, my good lord, weigh ye my reasonable request, and let charity and truth move your noble heart with pity, to help me in all this my truth, wherein ye shall take no manner of slander or rebuke, by the grace of God." "Well then," quoth my Lord of Shrewsbury, "I will write to the king's majesty in your behalf, declaring to him by my letters how grievously ye lament his displeasure and indignation; and what request ye make for the trial of your truth towards his highness." Thus after these communications, and divers others, as between them daily was accustomed, they departed asunder.

Where my lord continued the space after of a fortnight, having goodly and honourable entertainment, whom the earl would often require to kill a doe or two there in the park, who always refused all manner of earthly pleasures and disports either in hunting or in other games, but applied his prayers continually very devoutly; so that it came to pass at [a] certain season sitting at dinner in his own chamber, having at his board's end that same day, as he divers times had to accompany him, a mess of the earl's gentlemen

and chaplains, and eating of roasted wardens at the end of his dinner, before whom I stood at the table, dressing of those wardens for him: beholding of him [I] perceived his colour often to change, and alter divers times, whereby I judged him not to be in health. Which caused me to lean over the table, saying unto him softly, "Sir, me seemeth your grace is not well at ease." He answered again and said, "Forsooth, no more I am; for I am," quoth he, "suddenly taken about my stomach, with a thing that lieth overthwart my breast as cold as a whetstone; the which is but wind; therefore I pray you take up the cloth, and make ye a short dinner, and resort shortly again unto me." And after that the table was taken up, I went and sat the waiters to dinner, without in the gallery, and resorted again to my lord, where I found him still sitting where I left him very ill at ease; notwithstanding he was in communication with the gentlemen sitting at the board's end. And as soon as I was entered the chamber, he desired me to go down to the apothecary, and to inquire of him whether he had any thing that would break wind upward, and according to his commandment I went my way towards the apothecary. And by the way I remembered one article of mine oath before made unto Master Walshe, which caused me first to go to the earl, and showed him both

what estate he was in, and also what he desired at the apothecary's hand for his relief. With that the earl caused the apothecary to be called incontinent before him; of whom he demanded whether he had any thing to break wind that troubleth one in his breast; and he answered that he had such gear. "Then," quoth the earl, "fetch me some hither." The which the apothecary brought in a white paper, a certain white confection unto the earl, who commanded me to give the assay thereof to the apothecary, and so I did before him. And then I departed therewith bringing it to my lord, before whom I took also the assay thereof, and delivered the same to my lord, who received the same wholly altogether at once. And immediately after he had received the same, surely he avoided exceeding much wind upward. "Lo," quoth he, "now you may see that it was but wind; but by the means of this receipt I am, I thank God, well eased:" and so he rose from the table, and went to his prayers, as he accustomedly did after dinner. And being at his prayers, there came upon him such a laske, that it caused him to go to his stool; and being there the earl sent for me, and at my coming he said, "Forasmuch as I have always perceived you to be a man, in whom my lord your master hath great affiance; and for my experience, knowing you to be an honest man

(with many more words of commendation than need here to be rehearsed), said, "It is so, that my lord, your lamentable master, hath often desired me to write to the king's majesty that he might come unto his presence, to make answer to his accusations; and even so have I done; for this day have I received letters from his grace, by Sir William Kingston, knight, whereby I do perceive that the king hath in him a very good opinion; and upon my often request, he hath sent for him, by the said Sir William, to come up to answer, according to his own desire; who is in his chamber. Wherefore now is the time come that my lord hath often desired to try himself and his truth, as I trust much to his honour; and I put no doubt in so doing, that it shall be for him the best journey that ever he made in all his life. Therefore now would I have you to play the part of a wise man, to break first this matter unto him so wittily, and in such sort, that he might take it quietly in good part: for he is ever so full of sorrow and dolor in my company, that I fear me he will take it in evil part, and then he doth not well: for I assure you, and so show him that the king is his good lord, and hath given me the most worthy thanks for his entertainment, desiring and commanding me so to continue, not doubting but that he will right nobly acquit himself towards his highness.

Therefore, go your ways to him, and so persuade with him that I may find him in good quiet at my coming, for I will not tarry long after you." "Sir," quoth I, "I shall, if it please your lordship, endeavour me to accomplish your commandment to the best of my power. But, sir, I doubt one thing, that when I shall name Sir William Kingston, he will mistrust that all is not well; because he is constable of the tower, and captain of the guard, having twenty-four of the guard to attend upon him." "Marry it is truth;" quoth the earl, "what thereof, though he be constable of the tower? yet he is the most meetest man for his wisdom and discretion to be sent about any such message. And for the guard, it is for none other purpose but only to defend him against all them that would intend him any evil, either in word or deed; and also they be all, or for the most part, such of his old servants as the king took of late into his service, to the intent that they should attend upon him most justly, and doth know best how to serve him." "Well, sir," said I, "I will do what I can," and so departed toward my lord.

And at my repair I found him sitting at the upper end of the gallery, upon a trussing chest of his own, with his beads and staff in his hands. And espying me coming from the earl, he demanded of me what news. "Forsooth, sir,"

quoth I, "the best news that ever came to you; if your grace can take it well." "I pray God it be," quoth he, "what is it?" "Forsooth, sir," quoth I, "my Lord of Shrewsbury, perceiving by your often communication that ye were always desirous to come before the king's majesty, and now as your most assured friend, hath travailed so with his letters unto the king, that the king hath sent for you by Master Kingston and twenty-four of the guard, to conduct you to his highness." "Master Kingston," quoth he, rehearsing his name[2] once or twice; and with that clapped his hand on his thigh, and gave a great sigh. "Sir," quoth I, "if your grace could or would take all things in good part, it should be much better for you. Content yourself for God's sake, and think that God and your friends hath wrought for you, according to your own desire. Did ye not always wish that ye might clear yourself before the king's person, now that God and your friends hath brought your desire to

[2] "I know not whether or no it be worth the mentioning here (however we will put it on the adventure), but Cardinal Wolsey, in his life time was informed by some fortune-tellers, *that he should have his end at Kingston*. This, his credulity interpreted of Kingston on Thames; which made him alwayes to avoid the riding through that town, though the nearest way from his house to the court. Afterwards, understanding that he was to be committed by the king's express order to the charge of Sir Anthony [William] Kingston (see Henry Lord Howard in his Book against Prophecies, chap. 28, fol. 130), it struck to his heart; too late perceiving himself deceived by that father of lies in his homonymous prediction." Fuller's *Church History*. Book v. p. 178. *W.*

pass, ye will not take it thankfully? If ye consider your truth and loyalty unto our sovereign lord, against the which your enemies cannot prevail, the king being your good lord as he is, you know well, that the king can do no less than he doth, you being to his highness accused of some heinous crime, but cause you to be brought to your trial, and there to receive according to your demerits; the which his highness trusteth, and saith no less but that you shall prove yourself a just man to his majesty, wherein ye have more cause to rejoice than thus to lament, or mistrust his favourable justice. For I assure you, your enemies be more in doubt and fear of you, than you of them; that they wish that thing, that I trust they shall never be able to bring to pass with all their wits, the king (as I said before) being your indifferent and singular good lord and friend. And to prove that he so is, see you not how he hath sent gentle Master Kingston for you, with such men as were your old true servants, and yet be as far as it becometh them to be only to attend upon you, for the want of your own servants, willing also Master Kingston to remove you with as much honour as was due to you in your high estate; and to convey you by such easy journeys as ye shall command him to do; and that ye shall have all your desires and commandments by the way in every place, to

your grace's contentation and honour. Wherefore, sir, I humbly beseech your grace, to imprint all these just persuasions with many other imminent occasions in your discretion, and be of good cheer; I most humbly with my faithful heart require your grace, wherewith ye shall principally comfort yourself, and next give all your friends and to me and other of your servants good hope of your good speed." "Well, well, then," quoth he, "I perceive more than ye can imagine, or do know. Experience of old hath taught me." And therewith he rose up, and went into his chamber, to his close stool, the flux troubled him so sore; and when he had done he came out again; and immediately my Lord of Shrewsbury came into the gallery unto him, with whom my lord met, and then they both sitting down upon a bench in a great window, the earl asked him how he did, and he most lamentably, as he was accustomed, answered, thanking him for his gentle entertainment. "Sir," quoth the earl, "if ye remember ye have often wished in my company to make answer before the king; and I as desirous to help your request, as you to wish, bearing towards you my good will, have written especially to the king in your behalf; making him also privy of your lamentable sorrow, that ye inwardly receive for his high displeasure; who accepteth all things and your doings therein, as

friends be accustomed to do in such cases. Wherefore I would advise you to pluck up your heart, and be not aghast of your enemies, who I assure you have you in more doubt than ye would think, perceiving that the king is fully minded to have the hearing of your case before his own person. Now, sir, if you can be of good cheer, I doubt not but this journey which ye shall take towards his highness shall be much to your advancement, and an overthrow of your enemies. The king hath sent for you by that worshipful knight Master Kingston, and with him twenty-four of your old servants, who be now of the guard, to defend you against your unknown enemies, to the intent that ye may safely come unto his majesty." "Sir," quoth my lord, "as I suppose Master Kingston is constable of the tower." "Yea, what of that?" quoth the earl, "I assure you he is only appointed by the king for one of your friends, and for a discreet gentleman, as most worthy to take upon him the safe conduct of your person; for without fail the king favoureth you much more, and beareth towards you a secret special favour, far otherwise than ye do take it." "Well, sir," quoth my lord, "as God will, so be it. I am subject to fortune, and to fortune I submit myself, being a true man ready to accept such ordinances as God hath provided

for me, and there an end: sir, I pray you, where is Master Kingston?" "Marry," quoth the earl, "if ye will, I will send for him, who would most gladly see you." "I pray you then," quoth my lord, "send for him." At whose message he came incontinent, and as soon as my lord espied him coming in to the gallery, he made haste to encounter him. Master Kingston came towards him with much reverence; and at his approach he kneeled down and saluted him on the king's behalf; whom my lord bareheaded offered to take up, but he still kneeled. "Then," quoth my lord, "Master Kingston, I pray you stand up, and leave your kneeling unto a very wretch replete with misery, not worthy to be esteemed, but for a vile abject utterly cast away, without desert; and therefore, good Master Kingston, stand up, or I will myself kneel down by you." With that Master Kingston stood up, saying, with humble reverence, "Sir, the king's majesty hath him commended unto you." "I thank his highness," quoth my lord, "I trust he be in health, and merry, the which I beseech God long continue." "Yea, without doubt," quoth Master Kingston: "and so hath he commanded me first to say unto you, that you should assure yourself that he beareth you as much good will and favour as ever he did; and willeth you to be of

good cheer. And where[3] report hath been made unto him, that ye should commit against his royal majesty certain heinous crimes, which he thinketh to be untrue, yet for the ministration of justice, in such cases requisite, and to avoid all suspect of partiality [he] can do no less at the least than to send for you to your trial, mistrusting nothing your truth and wisdom, but that ye shall be able to acquit yourself against all complaints and accusations exhibited against you; and to take your journey towards him at your own pleasure, commanding me to be attendant upon you with ministration of due reverence, and to see your person preserved from all damage and inconveniences that might ensue; and to elect all such your old servants, now his, to serve you by the way, who have most experience of your diet. Therefore, sir, I beseech your grace to be of good cheer; and when it shall be your good pleasure to take your journey, I shall give mine attendance." "Master Kingston," quoth my lord, "I thank you for your good news: and, sir, hereof assure yourself, that if I were as able and as lusty as I have been but of late, I would not fail to ride with you in post: but, sir, I am diseased with a flux[4] that maketh me very weak.

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[3] *where* for *whereas*.

[4] In the old garbled editions the passage stands thus: "But alas! I am a diseased man, having a fluxe (at which time it was

But, Master Kingston, all these comfortable words which ye have spoken be but for a purpose to bring me into a fool's paradise: I know what is provided for me. Notwithstanding, I thank you for your good will and pains taken about me; and I shall with all speed make me ready to ride with you to-morrow." And thus they fell into other communication, both the earl and Master Kingston with my lord; who commanded me to foresee and provide that all things might be made ready to depart the morrow after. I caused all things to be trussed up, and made in a readiness as fast as they could conveniently.

When night came that we should go to bed, my lord waxed very sick through his new disease, the which caused him still continually from time to time to go to the stool all that night; insomuch from the time that his disease took him, unto the next day, he had above fifty stools, so that he was that day very weak. The matter that he voided was wondrous black, the which physicians call choler adustine; and when he perceived it, he said to me, "If I have not some

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apparent that *he had poisoned himself)*; it hath made me very weak," p. 108, edit. 1641. This is a most barefaced and unwarranted interpolation. The words do not occur in any of the MSS. Yet the charge of his having poisoned himself was repeated by many writers among the reformers without scruple. See Tindall's *Works*, p. 401. *Supplications to the Queen's Majesty*, fol. 7. A. D. 1553. Fox's *Acts*, p. 959.

help shortly, it will cost me my life." With that I caused one doctor Nicholas, a physician, being with the earl, to look upon the gross matter that he avoided; upon sight whereof he determined how he should not live past four or five days; yet notwithstanding he would have ridden with Master Kingston that same day, if the Earl of Shrewsbury had not been. Therefore, in consideration of his infirmity, they caused him to tarry all that day.

And the next day he took his journey with Master Kingston and the guard. And as soon as they espied their old master, in such a lamentable estate, they lamented him with weeping eyes. Whom my lord took by the hands, and divers times, by the way, as he rode, he would talk with them, sometime with one, and sometime with another; at night he was lodged at a house of the Earl of Shrewsbury's, called Hardwick Hall, very evil at ease. The next day he rode to Nottingham, and there lodged that night, more sicker, and the next day we rode to Leicester Abbey; and by the way he waxed so sick that he was divers times likely to have fallen from his mule[5]; and being night before we came

[5] "This is an affecting picture," says a late elegant writer, "Shakspeare had undoubtedly seen these words, his portrait of the sick and dying Cardinal so closely resembling this. But in these words is this chronological difficulty. How is it that Hard-

to the abbey of Leicester, where at his coming in at the gates the abbot of the place with all his convent met him with the light of many torches; whom they right honourably received with great reverence. To whom my lord said,

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wick Hall is spoken of as a house of the Earl of Shrewsbury's in the reign of Henry VIII, when it is well known that the house of this name between Sheffield and Nottingham, in which the Countess of Shrewsbury spent her widowhood, a house described in the Anecdotes of Painting, and seen and admired by every curious traveller in Derbyshire, did not accrue to the possessions of any part of the Shrewsbury family till the marriage of an earl, who was grandson to the cardinal's host, with Elizabeth Hardwick, the widow of Sir William Cavendish, in the time of Queen Elizabeth?—The truth however is, that though the story is told to every visitor of Hardwick Hall, that "the great child of honour, Cardinal Wolsey," slept there a few nights before his death; as is also the story, perhaps equally unfounded, that Mary Queen of Scots was confined there; it was *another* Hardwick which received the weary traveller for a night in this his last melancholy pilgrimage. This was Hardwick-upon-Line in Nottinghamshire, a place about as far to the south of Mansfield as the Hardwick in Derbyshire, so much better known, is to the north-west. It is now gone to much decay, and is consequently omitted in many maps of the county. It is found in Speed. Here the Earl of Shrewsbury had a house in the time of Wolsey. Leland expressly mentions it. "The Erle [of Shrewsbury] hath a parke and manner place or lodge in it called Hardewike-upon-Line, a four miles from Newstede Abbey." Itin. vol. v. fol. 94, p. 108. Both the Hardwicks became afterwards the property of the Cavendishs. Thoroton tells us that Sir Charles Cavendish, youngest son of Sir William, and father of William Duke of Newcastle, "had begun to build a great house in this lordship, on a hill by the forest side, near Annesly-wood-House, when he was assaulted and wounded by Sir John Stanhope and his men, as he was viewing the work, which was therefore thought fit to be left off, some blood being spilt in the quarrel, then very hot between the two families.—*Thoresby's Edit. of Thoroton*, vol. ii. p. 291."——WHO WROTE CAVENDISH'S LIFE OF WOLSEY? p. 18.

"Father Abbot, I am come hither to leave my bones among you," whom they brought on his mule to the stairs foot of his chamber, and there alighted, and Master Kingston then took him by the arm, and led him up the stairs; who told me afterwards that he never carried so heavy a burden in all his life. And as soon as he was in his chamber, he went incontinent to his bed, very sick. This was upon Saturday at night; and there he continued sicker and sicker.

Upon Monday in the morning, as I stood by his bed side, about eight of the clock, the windows being close shut, having wax lights burning upon the cupboard, I beheld him, as me seemed, drawing fast to his end. He perceiving my shadow upon the wall by his bed side, asked who was there? "Sir, I am here," quoth I; "How do you?" quoth he to me. "Very well, sir," quoth I, "if I might see your grace well." "What is it of the clock?" said he to me. "Forsooth, sir," said I, "it is past eight of the clock in the morning." "Eight of the clock?" quoth he, "that cannot be," rehearsing divers times, "eight of the clock, eight of the clock, nay, nay," quoth he at the last, "it cannot be eight of the clock: for by eight of the clock ye shall lose your master: for my time draweth near that I must depart out of this world." With that Master Doctor Palmes, a worshipful gentleman, being his

chaplain and ghostly father, standing by, bade me secretly, demand of him if he would be shriven, and to be in a readiness towards God, whatsoever should chance. At whose desire I asked him that question. "What have you to do to ask me any such question?" quoth he, and began to be very angry with me for my presumption; until at the last Master Doctor took my part, and talked with him in Latin, and so pacified him.

And after dinner, Master Kingston sent for me into his chamber, and at my being there, said to me, "So it is, that the king hath sent me letters by this gentleman Master Vincent, one of your old companions, who hath been of late in trouble in the Tower of London for money that my lord should have at his last departing from him, which now cannot be found. Wherefore the king, at this gentleman's request, for the declaration of his truth hath sent him hither with his grace's letters directed unto me, commanding me by virtue thereof to examine my lord in that behalf, and to have your counsel herein, how it may be done, that he may take it well and in good part. This is the chief cause of my sending for you; therefore I pray you what is your best counsel to use in this matter for the true acquittal of this gentleman?" "Sir," quoth I, "as touching that matter, my simple advice shall be

this, that your own person shall resort unto him and visit him, and in communication break the matter unto him; and if he will not tell the truth, there be that can satisfy the king's pleasure therein; and in anywise speak nothing of my fellow Vincent. And I would not advise you to tract the time with him; for he is very sick, and I fear me he will not live past to-morrow in the morning." Then went Master Kingston unto him; and asked first how he did, and so forth proceeded in communication, wherein Master Kingston demanded of him the said money, saying, "that my Lord of Northumberland hath found a book at Cawood that reporteth how ye had but late fifteen hundred pounds in ready money, and one penny thereof will not be found, who hath made the king privy by his letters thereof. Wherefore the king hath written unto me, to demand of you if you know where it is become; for it were pity that it should be embezzled from you both. Therefore I shall require you, in the king's name, to tell me the truth herein, to the intent that I may make just report unto his majesty what answer ye make therein." With that my lord paused awhile and said, "Ah, good Lord! how much doth it grieve me that the king should think in me such deceit, wherein I should deceive him of any one penny that I have. Rather than I would, Master King-

ston, embezzle, or deceive him of a mite, I would it were moult, and put in my mouth;" which words he spake twice or thrice very vehemently. "I have nothing, ne never had (God being my judge), that I esteemed, or had in it any such delight or pleasure, but that I took it for the king's goods, having but the bare use of the same during my life, and after my death to leave it to the king; wherein he hath but prevented my intent and purpose. And for this money that ye demand of me, I assure you it is none of mine; for I borrowed it of divers of my friends to bury me, and to bestow among my servants, who have taken great pains about me, like true and faithful men. Notwithstanding if it be his pleasure to take this money from me, I must hold me therewith content. Yet I would most humbly beseech his majesty to see them satisfied, of whom I borrowed the same for the discharge of my conscience." "Who be they?" quoth Master Kingston. "That shall I show you," said my lord. "I borrowed two hundred pounds thereof of Sir John Allen of London; and two hundred pounds of Sir Richard Gresham; and two hundred pounds of the master of the Savoy, and two hundred pounds of Doctor Hickden, dean of my college in Oxford; and two hundred pounds of the treasurer of the church of York; and two hundred pounds of the dean of York;

and two hundred pounds of parson Ellis my chaplain; and a hundred pounds of my steward, whose name I have forgotten; trusting that the king will restore them again their money, for it is none of mine." "Sir," quoth Master Kingston, "there is no doubt in the king; ye need not to mistrust that, but when the king shall be advertised thereof, to whom I shall make report of your request, that his grace will do as shall become him. But, sir, I pray you, where is this money?" "Master Kingston," quoth he, "I will not conceal it from the king; I will declare it to you, or I die, by the grace of God. Take a little patience with me, I pray you." "Well, sir, then will I trouble you no more at this time, trusting that ye will show me to-morrow." "Yea, that I will, Master Kingston, for the money is safe enough, and in an honest man's keeping; who will not keep one penny from the king." And then Master Kingston went to his chamber to supper.

Howbeit my lord waxed very sick, most likeliest to die that night, and often swooned, and as me thought drew fast toward his end, until it was four of the clock in the morning, at which time I asked him how he did. "Well," quoth he, "if I had any meat; I pray you give me some." "Sir, there is none ready," said I; "I wis," quoth he, "ye be the more to blame, for you should have always some meat for me in a

readiness, to eat when my stomach serveth me; therefore I pray you get me some; for I intend this day, God willing, to make me strong, to the intent I may occupy myself in confession, and make me ready to God." "Then, sir," quoth I, "I will call up the cook to provide some meat for you; and will also, if it be your pleasure, call for Master Palmes, that ye may commune with him, until your meat be ready." "With a good will," quoth he. And therewith I went first, and called up the cook, commanding him to prepare some meat for my lord; and then I went to Master Palmes and told him what case my lord was in; willing him to rise, and to resort to him with speed. And then I went to Master Kingston, and gave him warning, that, as I thought, he would not live; advertising him that if he had any thing to say to him, that he should make haste, for he was in great danger. "In good faith," quoth Master Kingston, "ye be to blame: for ye make him believe that he is sicker, and in more danger than he is." "Well, sir," quoth I, "ye shall not say another day but that I gave you warning, as I am bound to do, in discharge of my duty. Therefore, I pray you, whatsoever shall chance, let no negligence be ascribed to me herein; for I assure you his life is very short. Do therefore now as ye think best." Yet nevertheless he arose, and made him ready, and came to him. After he had eaten of a cullis made of

a chicken, a spoonful or two; at the last, quoth he, "Whereof was this cullis made?" "Forsooth, sir," quoth I, "of a chicken." "Why," quoth he, "it is fasting day, and St. Andrew's Eve." "What though it be, sir," quoth Doctor Palmes, "ye be excused by reason of your sickness?" "Yea," quoth he, "what though? I will eat no more."

Then was he in confession the space of an hour. And when he had ended his confession, Master Kingston bade him good-morrow (for it was about seven of the clock in the morning); and asked him how he did. "Sir," quoth he, "I tarry but the will and pleasure of God, to render unto him my simple soul into his divine hands." "Not yet so, sir," quoth Master Kingston, "with the grace of God, ye shall live, and do very well; if ye will be of good cheer." "Master Kingston, my disease is such that I cannot live; I have had some experience in my disease, and thus it is: I have a flux with a continual fever; the nature whereof is this, that if there be no alteration with me of the same within eight days, then must either ensue excoriation of the entrails, or frenzy, or else present death; and the best thereof is death. And as I suppose, this is the eighth day: and if ye see in me no alteration, then is there no remedy (although I may live a day or twaine), but death, which is the best re-

medy of the three." "Nay, sir, in good faith," quoth Master Kingston, "you be in such dolor and pensiveness, doubting that thing that indeed ye need not to fear, which maketh you much worse than ye should be." "Well, well, Master Kingston," quoth he, "I see the matter against me how it is framed; but if I had served God as diligently as I have done the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs[6]. Howbeit this is the just reward that I must receive for my worldly diligence and pains that I have had to do him service; only to satisfy his vain pleasure, not regarding my godly duty. Wherefore I pray you, with all my heart, to have me most humbly commended unto his royal majesty; beseeching him in my behalf to call to his most gracious remembrance all matters proceeding between him and me from the beginning of the world unto this day, and the progress of the same: and most chiefly in the weighty matter yet depending; (meaning the matter newly began between him and good Queen Katherine) "then shall his conscience declare, whether I

[6] Mr. Douce has pointed out a remarkable passage in Pittscottie's History of Scotland (p. 261, edit. 1788,) in which there is a great resemblance to these pathetic words of the cardinal. James V. imagined that Sir James Hamilton addressed him thus in a dream. "Though I was a sinner against God, I failed not to thee. Had I been as good a servant to the Lord my God as I was to thee, I had not died that death."

have offended him or no. He is sure a prince of a royal courage, and hath a princely heart; and rather than he will either miss or want any part of his will or appetite, he will put the loss of one half of his realm in danger. For I assure you I have often kneeled before him in his privy chamber on my knees, the space of an hour or two, to persuade him from his will and appetite: but I could never bring to pass to dissuade him therefrom. Therefore, Master Kingston, if it chance hereafter you to be one of his privy counsel, as for your wisdom and other qualities ye are meet to be, I warn you to be well advised and assured what matter ye put in his head, for ye shall never put it out again.

"And say furthermore, that I request his grace, in God's name, that he have a vigilant eye to depress this new pernicious sect of Lutherans[7], that it do not increase within his dominions through his negligence, in such a sort, as that he shall be fain at length to put harness upon his back to subdue them; as the king of

[7] In the yeare 1521, the cardinal, by virtue of his legatine authority, issued a mandate to all the bishops in the realme, to take the necessary means for calling in and destroying all books, printed or written, containing any of the errors of Martin Luther: and further directing processes to be instituted against all the possessors and favourers of such books, heresies, &c. The mandate contained also a list of forty-two errors of Luther. See Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 690—693; and Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. i. p. 36—40. *W.*

Bohemia did, who had good game, to see his rude commons (then infected with Wickliffe's heresies) to spoil and murder the spiritual men and religious persons of his realm; the which fled to the king and his nobles for succour against their frantic rage; of whom they could get no help of defence or refuge, but [they] laughed them to scorn, having good game at their spoil and consumption, not regarding their duties nor their own defence. And when these erroneous heretics had subdued all the clergy and spiritual persons, taking the spoil of their riches, both of churches, monasteries, and all other spiritual things, having no more to spoil, [they] caught such a courage of their former liberty that then they disdained their prince and sovereign lord with all other noble personages, and the head governors of the country, and began to fall in hand with the temporal lords to slay and spoil them, without pity or mercy, most cruelly. Insomuch that the king and other his nobles were constrained to put harness upon their backs, to resist the ungodly powers of those traitorous heretics, and to defend their lives and liberties, who pitched a field royal against them; in which field these traitors so stoutly encountered, the party of them was so cruel and vehement that in fine they were victors, and slew the king, the lords, and all the gentlemen of the realm,

leaving not one person that bare the name or port of a gentleman alive, or of any person that had any rule or authority in the common weal. By means of which slaughter they have lived ever since in great misery and poverty without a head or governor, living all in common like wild beasts abhorred of all Christian nations. Let this be to him an evident example to avoid the like danger, I pray you. Good Master Kingston, there is no trust in routs, or unlawful assemblies of the common people; for when the riotous multitude be assembled, there is among them no mercy or consideration of their bounden duty; as in the history of King Richard the Second, one of his noble progenitors, which [lived] in that same time of Wickliffe's seditious opinions. Did not the commons, I pray you, rise against the king and the nobles of the realm of England; whereof some they apprehended, whom they without mercy or justice put to death? and did they not fall to spoiling and robbery, to the intent they might bring all things in common; and at the last, without discretion or reverence, spared not in their rage to take the king's most royal person out of the Tower of London, and carried him about the city most presumptuously, causing him, for the preservation of his life, to be agreeable to their lewd

proclamations? Did not also the traitorous heretic, Sir John Oldcastle, pitch a field against King Henry the Fifth, against whom the king was constrained to encounter in his royal person, to whom God gave the victory? Alas! Master Kingston, if these be not plain precedents, and sufficient persuasions to admonish a prince to be circumspect against the semblable mischief; and if he be so negligent, then will God strike and take from him his power, and diminish his regality, taking from him his prudent counsellors and valiant captains, and leave us in our own hands without his help and aid; and then will ensue mischief upon mischief, inconvenience upon inconvenience, barrenness and scarcity of all things for lack of good order in the commonwealth, to the utter destruction and desolation of this noble realm, from the which mischief God of his tender mercy defend us.

"Master Kingston, farewell. I can no more, but wish all things to have good success. My time draweth on fast. I may not tarry with you. And forget not, I pray you, what I have said and charged you withal: for when I am dead, ye shall peradventure remember my words much better." And even with these words he began to draw his speech at length, and his tongue to fail; his eyes being set in his head, whose sight failed him. Then we began to put him in re-

membrance of Christ's passion; and sent for the abbot of the place to anneal[8] him, who came with all speed, and ministered unto him all the service to the same belonging; and caused also the guard to stand by, both to hear him talk before his death, and also to witness of the same; and incontinent the clock struck eight, at which time he gave up the ghost, and thus departed he this present life[9]. And calling to our remembrance his words, the day before, how he said that at eight of the clock we should lose our master, one of us looking upon an other, supposing that he prophesied of his departure.

Here is the end and fall of pride and arrogancy of such men, exalted by fortune to honours and high dignities: for I assure you, in his time of authority and glory, he was the haughtiest man in all his proceedings that then lived, having more respect to the worldly honour of his person than he had to his spiritual profession; wherein should be all meekness, humi-

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[8] To administer the *extreme unction*. "The *fyfth sacrament* is anoyntynge of seke men, the whiche oyle is halowed of the bysshop, and mynystred by preestes to them that ben of lawfull age, in grete peryll of dethe: in lyghtnes and abatynge of theyr sikenes, yf God wyll that they lyve; and in forgyvynge of theyr venyal synnes, and releasynge of theyr payne, yf they shal deye." *Festival*, fol. 171. *W.*

[9] He died Nov. 29, 1530. Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 310.

lity, and charity; the process whereof I leave to them that be learned and seen in divine laws[1].

After that he was thus departed, Master Kingston sent an empost to the king, to advertise him of the death of the late Cardinal of York by one of the guard, that both saw and heard him talk and die. And then Master Kingston calling me unto him and to the abbot, went to consultation for the order of his burial.

After divers communications, it was thought good, that he should be buried the next day following; for Master Kingston would not tarry the return of the empost. And it was further thought good that the mayor of Leicester and his brethren should be sent for, to see him personally dead, in avoiding of false rumours that might hap to say that he was not dead but still living. Then was the mayor and his brethren sent for; and in the mean time the body was taken out of the bed where he lay dead; who had upon him, next his body, a shirt of hair, besides his other shirt, which was of very fine linen Holland cloth; this shirt of hair was unknown to all his servants being continually at-

[1] The excellent author of the dissertation on this life doubted whether this passage was not an interpolation, because "Wolsey is spoken of in terms so different from those used in other parts of the book." But it is only a proof of the integrity of the biographer, whose upright heart and devout catholic spirit would not conceal the truth.

tending upon him in his bedchamber, except to his chaplain, which was his Ghostly Father; wherein he was buried, and laid in a coffin of boards, having upon his dead corpse all such vestures and ornaments as he was professed in when he was consecrated bishop and archbishop, as mitre, crosses, ring, and pall,' with all other things appurtenant to his profession. And lying thus all day in his coffin open and barefaced, that all men might see him lie there dead without feigning; then when the mayor, his brethren, and all other had seen him, lying thus until four or five of the clock at night, he was carried so down into the church with great solemnity by the abbot and convent, with many torches light, singing such service as is done for such funerals.

And being in the church the corpse was set in our lady chapel, with many and divers tapers of wax burning about the hearse, and divers poor men sitting about the same, holding of torches light in their hands, who watched about the dead body all night, whilst the canons sang dirige, and other devout orisons. And about four of the clock in the morning they sang mass. And that done, and the body interred, Master Kingston, with us, being his servants, were present at his said funeral, and offered at his mass. And by that time that all things were finished, and all ceremonies that to such a person were decent

and convenient, it was about six of the clock in the morning.

Then prepared we to horseback, being St. Andrew's Day the Apostle, and so took our journey towards the court[2], being at Hampton Court; where the king then lay. And after we came thither, which was upon St. Nicholas' Eve, we gave attendance upon the council for our depeche.

Upon the morrow I was sent for by the king to come to his grace; and being in Master Kingston's chamber in the court, had knowledge thereof, and repairing to the king, I found him shooting at the rounds in the park, on the backside of the garden. And perceiving him occupied in shooting, thought it not my duty to trouble him: but leaned to a tree, intending to stand there, and to attend his gracious pleasure. Being in a great study, at the last the king came suddenly behind me, where I stood, and clapped his hand upon my shoulder; and when I perceived him, I fell upon my knee. To whom he said, calling me by name, "I will," quoth he, "make an end of my game, and then will I talk with you:" and so departed to his mark, whereat the game was ended.

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[2] This passage follows in the more recent MSS. "riding that same day, being Wednesday, to Northampton; and the next day to Dunstable; and the next day to London; where we tarried until St. Nicholas Even, and then we rode to Hampton Court."

Then the king delivered his bow unto the yeoman of his bows, and went his way inward to the palace, whom I followed; howbeit he called for Sir John Gage, with whom he talked, until he came at the garden postern gate, and there entered; the gate being shut after him, which caused me to go my ways.

And being gone but a little distance the gate was opened again, and there Sir Harry Norris called me again, commanding me to come in to the king, who stood behind the door in a night-gown of russet velvet, furred with sables; before whom I kneeled down, being with him there all alone the space of an hour and more, during which time he examined me of divers weighty matters, concerning my lord, wishing that liever than twenty thousand pounds that he had lived. Then he asked me for the fifteen hundred pounds, which Master Kingston moved to my lord before his death. "Sir," said I, "I think that I can tell your grace partly where it is." "Yea, can you?" quoth the king; "then I pray you tell me, and you shall do us much pleasure, nor it shall not be unrewarded." "Sir," said I, "if it please your highness, after the departure of David Vincent from my lord at Scroby, who had then the custody thereof, leaving the same with my lord in divers bags, sealed with my lord's seal, [he] delivered the same money in the same bags

sealed unto a certain priest, (whom I named to the king), safely to keep to his use." "Is this true?" quoth the king. "Yea, sir," quoth I, "without all doubt. The priest shall not be able to deny it in my presence, for I was at the delivery thereof[3]." "Well then," quoth the king, "let me alone, and keep this gear secret between yourself and me, and let no man be privy thereof; for if I hear any more of it, then I know by whom it is come to knowledge." "Three may," quoth he, "keep counsel, if two be away; and if I thought that my cap knew my counsel, I would cast it into the fire and burn it. And for your truth and honesty ye shall be one of our servants, and in that same room with us, that ye were with your old master. Therefore go to Sir John Gage our vice chamberlain, to whom I have spoken already to give you your oath, and to admit you our servant in the same room; and then go to my Lord of Norfolk, and he shall pay you all your whole year's wages, which is ten pounds, is it not so?" quoth the king, "Yes, forsooth, sire," quoth I, "and I am behind thereof for three quarters of a year." "That is true," quoth the king, "for so we be

[3] Here is another addition, in the more recent MSS. to the following effect: "Who hath gotten diverse other rich ornaments into his hands, the which be not rehersed or registered in any of my lords books of inventory, or other writings, whereby any man is able to charge him therewith, but only I."

informed, therefore ye shall have your whole year's wages, with our reward delivered you by the Duke of Norfolk." The king also promised me furthermore, to be my singular good and gracious lord, whensoever occasion should serve. And thus I departed from him.

And as I went I met with Master Kingston coming from the council, who commanded me in their names to go straight unto them, whom they had sent for by him, "And in any wise," quoth he, "for God's sake, take good heed what ye say; for ye shall be examined of such certain words as my lord your late master had at his departure, and if you tell them the truth," quoth he, "what he said, you shall undo yourself; for in any wise they would not hear of it: therefore be circumspect what answer ye make to their demands." "Why, sir," quoth I, "how have ye done therein yourself?" "Marry," quoth he, "I have utterly denied that ever I heard any such words; and he that opened the matter first is fled for fear; which was the yeoman of the guard that rode empost to the king from Leicester. Therefore go your ways, God send you good speed; and when you have done, come to me into the chamber of presence, where I shall tarry your coming to see how you speed, and to know how ye have done with the king."

Thus I departed, and went directly to the

council chamber door; and as soon as I was come, I was called in among them. And being there, my Lord of Norfolk spake to me first, and bade me welcome to the court, and said, "My lords, this gentleman hath both justly and painfully served the cardinal his master like an honest and diligent servant; therefore I doubt not but of such questions as ye shall demand of him, he will make just report, I dare undertake the same for him. How say ye, it is reported that your master spake certain words, even before his departure out of this life; the truth whereof I doubt not ye know; and as ye know, I pray you report; and fear not for no man. Ye shall not need to swear him, therefore go to, how say you, is it true that is reported?" "Forsooth, sir," quoth I, "I was so diligent attending more to the preservation of his life than I was to note and mark every word that he spake: and, sir, indeed, he spake many idle words, as men in such extremities do, the which I cannot now remember. If it please your lordships to call before you Master Kingston, he will not fail to show you the truth." "Marry, so have we done already," quoth they, "who hath been here presently before us, and hath denied utterly that ever he heard any such words spoken by your master at the time of his death, or at any time before." "Forsooth, my lords," quoth I, "then I

can say no more; for if he heard them not, I could not hear them; for he heard as much as I, and I as much as he. Therefore, my lords, it were much folly for me to declare any thing of untruth, which I am not able to justify." "Lo!" quoth my Lord of Norfolk, "I told you as much before; therefore go your ways:" quoth he to me, "you are dismissed, and come again to my chamber anon, for I must needs talk with you."

I most humbly thanked them, and so departed; and went into the chamber of presence to meet with Master Kingston, whom I found standing in communication with an ancient gentleman, usher of the king's privy chamber, called Master Radcliffe. And at my coming, Master Kingston demanded of me, if I had been with the counsel; and what answer I made them. I said again, that I had satisfied them sufficiently with my answer; and told him the manner of it. And then he asked me how I sped with the king; and I told him partly of our communication; and of his grace's benevolence and princely liberality; and how he commanded me to go to my Lord of Norfolk. As we were speaking of him, he came from the council into the chamber of presence; as soon as he espied me, he came unto the window, where I stood with Master Kingston and Master Radcliffe; to whom I declared the king's pleasure. These two gentlemen de-

sired him to be my good lord. "Nay," quoth he, "I will be better unto him than ye wene; for if I could have spoken with him before he came to the king, I would have had him to my service; (the king excepted) he should have done no man service in all England but only me. And look, what I may do for you, I will do it with right good will." "Sir, then," quoth I, "would it please your grace to move the king's majesty in my behalf, to give me one of the carts and horses that brought up my stuff with my lord's (which is now in the tower), to carry it into my country." "Yea, marry, will I," quoth he, and returned again to the king; for whom I tarried still with Master Kingston. And Master Radcliffe, who said, that he would go in and help my lord in my suit with the king. And incontinent my lord came forth, and showed me, how the king was my good and gracious lord; and had given me six of the best horses that I could choose amongst all my lord's cart horses, with a cart to carry my stuff, and five marks for my costs homewards; and hath commanded me," quoth he, "to deliver you ten pounds for your wages; being behind unpaid; and twenty pounds for a reward;" who commanded to call for Master Secretary to make a warrant for all these things. Then was it told him, that Master Secretary was gone to Hanworth for that night.

Then commanded he one of the messengers of the chamber to ride unto him in all haste for hose warrants; and willed me to meet with him the next day at London; and there to receive both my money, my stuff, and horses, that the king gave me: and so I did; of whom I received all things according, and then I returned into my country.

And thus ended the life of my late lord and master, the rich and triumphant legate and cardinal of England, on whose soul Jesu have mercy! Amen.

Finis quod G. C.

Who list to read and consider, with an indifferent eye, this history, may behold the wondrous mutability of vain honours, the brittle assurance of abundance; the uncertainty of dignities, the flattering of feigned friends, and the tickle trust to worldly princes. Whereof this lord cardinal hath felt both of the sweet and the sour in each degree; as fleeting from honours, losing of riches, deposed from dignities, forsaken of friends, and the inconstantness of princes favour; of all which

things he hath had in this world the full felicity, as long as fortune smiled upon him: but when she began to frown, how soon was he deprived of all these dreaming joys and vain pleasures. The which in twenty years with great travail, study, and pains, obtained, were in one year and less, with heaviness, care, and sorrow, lost and consumed. O madness! O foolish desire! O fond hope! O greedy desire of vain honours, dignities, and riches! Oh what inconstant trust and assurance is in rolling fortune! Wherefore the prophet said full well, *Thesaurizat, et ignorat, cui congregabit ea.* Who is certain to whom he shall leave his treasure and riches that he hath gathered together in this world, it may chance him to leave it unto such as he hath purposed? but the wise man saith, *That an other person, who peradventure he hated in his life, shall spend it out, and consume it.*

THE END.

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ADDITIONAL NOTES

TO THE

LIFE OF WOLSEY.

PAGE 32. The Letter of Anstis, referred to in the note, is addressed to Fiddes, and is printed in his Collections. It relates to a rude representation of the House of Lords in the reign of King Henry VIII. but that learned herald and antiquary has made it the vehicle of some observations, which may not be misplaced here.

"Almost every action of Wolsey hath been interpreted as an instance of pomp, ambition, or insolence; notwithstanding, probably, upon a strict examination, most of them will be found to be strictly precedented. This particular of *two crosses* gave Polydore Virgil an opportunity of making an uncharitable reflection: "Non contentus unâ cruce, qua utebatur, quod Archiepiscopus esset Eboracensis, alteram præ se ferri voluit, per duos sacerdotes statura elegantes, et equis magnis insidentes, qui aperto capite, quocunque anni tempore incederent. Nunc plane constat Wolsæum suæ sibi conscium esse culpæ, qui propterea binas in pompa habet cruces, quod una non satis foret ad ejus expianda commissa." Anstis then cites the passage from Roy's satire, which he mistakingly attributes to Skelton; and proceeds thus: "Here is a long catalogue, and yet possibly not one particular is singular to the cardinal. For the same honours, according to the known customs of Rome, were to be paid to every Legate *de Latere* as to the sovereign pontiff himself: Nay, he might of right use all papal ensigns and ornaments, for which Parisius (De Resignat. L. 7. qu. 13. n. 6 et 7) produces the vouchers."

"I know not what was the figure of the *pillars* here mentioned; but it was not an unusual ensign, because Chaucer, in the Plowman's Tale, v. 2044, setting forth the duty of a clergyman, says thus:

> And usin none yorthly honours,
> Ne croune, no curious covertours,
> Ne *pillar*, ne other proud pall, &c.

According to the present customs in this country, no one will charge the cardinal's riding on a mule to be a mark of his insolence or haughtiness, neither was it any testimony of his humility, but a usage of his age, in correspondence to the ancient practice of clergymen, who esteemed it unbecoming them to ride upon a horse, when our Saviour rode on the foal of an ass. Thus St. Basil on Psalm 32, *Exclusus est ab usu sanctorum equus.* And here I cannot forbear from diverting you with the odd simplicity of the style wherein Peraldus (Summæ de Superbia, tom. 2) expresses himself on this occasion; "Christus nunquam equitavit, tantum semel asinavit, atque adeo neque mulavit, neque palafredavit, neque dromedariavit." His sentiment was as of some other rigid disciplinarians at that time, that the clergy should travel on foot. It is well known that our judges, till the first year of Queen Mary, rode always to Westminster on mules, (v. Dugdal. Orig. Juridic. p. 38). Christopher Urswicke, who had been Dean of Windsor, in his will made 10 Oct. 1521, devises to Mr. Cuthbert Tunstall, Maister of the Rolls, "his gowne of blacke furred with martron, his typpet of sarcenet furred with sables, and his little *mule* with saddle and bridle and all hir harneys." Lib. Mainwaryng, in Cur. Prærog.) And upon the motive of an affected humility it doubtless was that John de Beverle, in his will dated 1380, "Volo quod corpus meum sit ductum ab hospitio meo per duos asinos, si possint inveniri. (Registr. Beckingham Episcopi Lincoln.) The sumptuary law for apparel, 24. Hen. 8. c. 13, prohibits all persons to wear upon their horse, *mule*, or other beast, any silk of purpure, &c. Of the custom of the clergy, see Bede Eccles. Hist. l. 3, c. 14, and l. 4, c. 3: and that they first began to ride on mares, l. 2, c. 13, unless there

be some error in the print. As to Cardinals, David Chambre, in his History of the Popes abridged, acquaints us that Innocent IV. gave them liberty to ride on horseback, and that Pope Clement V. ordained they should ride upon asses, according to the example of our Saviour.

But these rich trappings and housings of the cardinal's mule may give offence; herein he could justify himself by an especial privilege to those of his degree:—*Equitare mulas phaleratas, et clavam argenteam antè se deferre* (Cohelii Notitia Cardinalatus, p. 28). Here then is a poleaxe or mace also, and the same author, p. 30, acquaints us that in the Roman court the cardinals "dum equitant *mulas*, præmittunt apparitores cum argenteis *clavis* et *bulgis* ab acupictoribus gentilitiis insignibus auro et argento redimitis, necnon famulos duos pedissequos (parafrænarios vocant) baculis duobus innixos."

Page 78. The circumstances attending the interception of De Praet's dispatches, mentioned in the note, are thus related in a letter of Wolsey's to Mr. Sampson, printed in the Appendix to Galt's Life of Wolsey, p. clv. No. vi. 4to. 1812.

"It hath bene of a long season, and from sundry parts, reported unto the king's hignes and to me at divers times, that Mon^r^ de Praet, who resideth here ambassador for the emperor, hath continually bene a man disposed and inclined to make, in his letters and writings, both to the emperor and the Lady Margaret, seditious and sinister reports; saying many times, upon his own fantasie, suspicion, and conjecture, things clearly untrue, and compassing at other times, when things have been done, sayd, or set forth, frendly, kindlie, and lovinglie, soe to cowch his reports, and the circumstances of the doings thereof, as though the gratuities shewed by the king's highnes, have from time to time been conduced by the industrie, pollicy, and labour of the sayd ambassadors; ascribing therefore, the laude and thank therof unto himself, wherby he might acquire the more grace and favor of the sayd emperor and Lady Margaret. To these things

the kings highnes and I were not over hasty to give suche creddence; but supposing the sayd ambassador to be a p'sonage of more vertue and inclinacion to good then now he proveth to be, I would some times admonish him, in general words of such advertisement; exhorting and advising him to be well ware how he, being a minister betwene two princes so neerly conjoined in intelligence, should attempt or doe any thing to the hinderance thereof; but rather, regarding the office of a good ambassador to doe that in him is for the nourishing and increase of the same. Wherein he alwayes made me such answere that I conceaved noe further suspicion or jealousy towards him in that behalfe; being therefore the more franke and plaine with him in all my conferences, as he, that for the singuler good mind which I have alwayes borne unto the emperors honor, weale, and suretie, would procede with his majestie, sincerelie, plainely, and truelie. And as familiarly, kindly, and lovinglie hath the kings highnes and I admitted, entertayned, and used the sayd de Praet at all times, as the most hearty love betwene the kings highnes and his majestie doth require, making him privie, and having him present, at all such comunicacions and accesses have bene of other princes, ambassadors, or of any matter worthy advertisement or knowledge, to the intent that he should make most credible and plaine relacion thereof unto th'emperor and other to whom it appertained."

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

He then relates, that upon one occasion he sent for the ambassador "to make him participant of suchnewes as the kings highnes and I had received, as also to understand whether he had any good newes in confirmation of the same." And after a long communication, he "seeming to be joyous and well contented, giving me thanks on the emperors behalfe, departed."

"Three days before that, as many times is here accustomed, it was appointed that, as that night following, which was the xjth day at night, a privie watch should be made in London, and by a certaine cercoute and space about it: in the which watch was taken, passing between London and

Brainford, by certaine of the watch appointed to that quarter, one ryding towards the said Brainford; who, examined by the watch, answered soe closely, that upon suspicion thereof they searched him, and found seacretly hid about him a little pacquet of letters, subscribed in French, which the sayd watch p'ceaving, brought the letters unto a man of lawes clarke, being of the same company; who, supposing the bearer of them to be either a spie or a messenger from some merchant, stranger, or other, intendinge to disclose things unto the emperor, and p'ceaving the sayd pacquet to be in the taking of it, by the unlearned men of the watch, broken and evil handled, looked in the letters. And thinking the same, by reason of the ciphers, more suspect, brought it unto the king's solicitor, being in the same watch; who not acquainted with the name of the sayd de Praet, brought the letters soe opened unto Sir Thomas Moore, being in another watch neere unto the same; and he presented them, in the morning following, unto me, being in the chancery at Westminster; which, when I had read, knowing how farr the effect of them was discrepant from the truth, anon I conceived the former advertisements made unto me touching the said ambassadors accustomed usage in making sinister reports, to be true. And p'ceyving by the sayd letters, that albeit the usage is not here that strangers should passe through the realme without a passport, yet one of the foulkes was depeched by the sayd ambassador the day before with letters towards Spaine,—wherin it was like there might be as evill or worse report then in these, I with all diligence sent to countermande the sayd former letters, or any other depeched at that time by the sayd ambassador. And soe was taken also a pacquet of his letters directed to my Lady Margaret, which original letters directed unto th'emperor, with copies of those addressed unto my Lady Margaret, viewed and overlooked, and the untruth mencioned in them deprehended, I send unto your hands herewith, as well because th'emperor may know such things as his folkes on this side doe advertise his majestie of, which may conferr to the furtherance of his affaires; as also, because

the same may hereby the more assuredlie and p'fectlie understand and p'ceave that the sayd de Praet hath of lykelyhood contrived noe few matters untrue and fayned in his letters sent of a long season, as well into Spayne as into Flanders. Wherof there is much apparance, by reason of such proceeding, strange demeanour, and suspicion, as hath seemed to have bene had towards the kings grace, both on that side and in Flanders of a good season, soe that it is evident to be conjectured that the sayd de Praet hath done more hurt, detriment, and damage, by his evil reports in the comon affaires, then ever he can be able to reduble or amend; and surely has by the same deserved much more blame than I will reherse." He then enters into detail of the misrepresentations of De Praet, who, he says, would have long since been denounced to the emperor as "a man of insufficient qualities, inexpert and far unmeet to be ambassador from so great a prince" had it not been out of courtesy to that potentate and his council. And further, that "De Praet being not a little abashed, ne without cause, made first exception at the intercepting of his letters, as he would not give credence to the manner of their interception, and the opening of them by a fortunate error, as is aforesayd, saying that ambassadors doe write unto their princes that which in their conceipt is thought good, referring the judgment unto others. He affirmed also, that till this time it could not ne should be ever found in any of his letters, that he hath made evill report either of the king's highnes or of me, as by his original letters, which he sayd he desired and would be gladd should and might be shewed, he would be judged, and that the cause and occasion moving him thus to write at this time, was only the being here of John Joachym by viij moneths, the difficulty made to condescend unto the truce proposed at Rome, the not advancing of an army on this side, as was spoken of, and the refusal of the kings highnes to contribute any thing to the defence of Italy."

To this Wolsey wrote the long and circumstantial answer he gave in which he avers that he was not privy to

Joachinos coming, and that it was some time after his arrival that he disclosed to him what he was, and that as soon as he discovered himself to be sent from the Lady Regent, he made de Praet privy thereto, praying him to advertise the Lady Margaret and the emperor, as he also would do and did.

To this he states 'that De Praet could make no other answer than that he wrote his fantasy, and remitted the judgment to wiser men.' The whole letter is well worth attention as an example of Wolsey's talent in diplomacy; and though his apology is not very convincing, it must be confessed to be very skilful and ingenious.

Page 81. What I have said in a note upon the misrepresentations which Cavendish gives of Wolsey's policy in regard to Bourbon and his army, receives confirmation from some interesting letters of the Cardinal in the Appendix to Galt's Life of Wolsey. No. IV, V, VI, p. cxxxiv, &c. 4to ed. Lond. 1812.

Page 171, line 14, for *green* season read *grece* season, i. e. the season of hunting, when the hart is in *grease* or full season.

I was here misled by relying more on Dr. Wordsworth's text than on my own conviction of the reading of the autograph copy. The other manuscripts which I have consulted read—"all *that* season."

Page 191. The name of Cardinal Wolsey's fool is said to have been "Master Williams, otherwise called Patch." An inquiry into this very curious feature in the domestic manners of the great in ancient times could not fail to be very interesting. Mr. Douce has glanced at the subject in his Illustrations of Shakspeare; and gave his friends reason to hope for a more enlarged inquiry at a future period: it would afford me real pleasure to hear that his intentions were not finally abandoned.

Page 325. According to the superstitious credulity of that age, the death of Wolsey was preceded by a portentous storm. *Vide Letters from the Bodleian, vol. ii. page* 17. In a letter from Dr. Tanner to Dr. Charlett, dated Norwich, Aug. 10, 1709, is the following note.

"On the other side is a coeval note at the end of an old MS. belonging to our cathedral, of the odd exit of the great Cardinal Wolsey, not mentioned, I think, in Cavendish, or any of the ordinary historians,—much like Oliver's wind.

"Anno Xti, 1530, nocte immediate sequente quartum diem Novemb. vehemens ventus quasi per totam Angliam accidebat, et die proximè sequente quinto sc. die ejusdem mensis circa horam primam post meridiem captus erat Dñus Thomas Wulsye Cardinalis in ædibus suis de Cahow [Cawood] infra Diocesin suam Eboracensem; et postea in itinere ejus versus Londoniam vigiliâ St. Andreæ prox. sequente apud Leycestriam moriebatur, quo die ventus quasi Gehennalis tunc fere per totam Angliam accidebat, cujus vehementia apud Leystoft infra Dioc. Norwicensem et alibi in diversis locis infra Regnum Angliæ multæ naves perierunt."

Ad finem Annalium Bartholomæi Cotton. MS. in Biblioth. Eccl. Cath. Norwic. habetur hæc notata.

END OF VOL. I.

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